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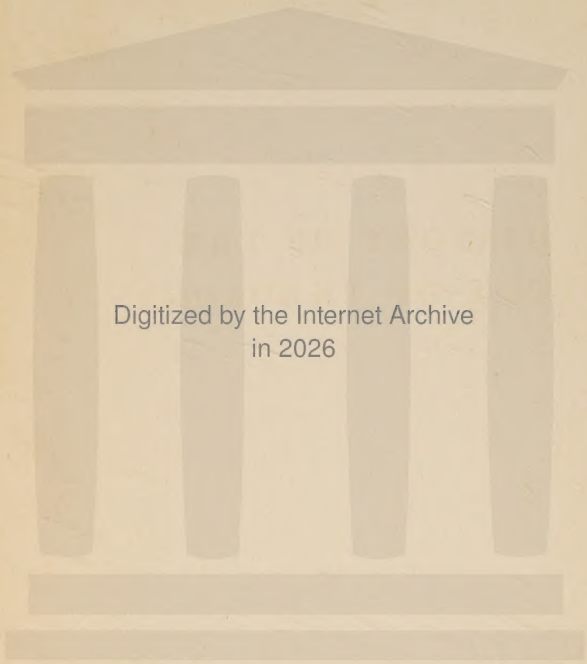
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HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY

BY

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS

D.D., D.LITT.

Prepared for Publication by his Daughter

EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, B.D.

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IN MEMORY OF

MY FATHER'S

FORTIETH YEAR OF SERVICE AS

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY

PREFACE

During the winter of 1912-1913, the last of his life, Dr. Briggs gave a course of lectures on the History of the Study of Theology to a select group of students from the Graduate Department of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. In this course he combined the methods of the lecture-room with those of the seminar. The lectures were divided into parts, chapters, and sections. Each section was introduced by a brief statement, summing up the most important of the facts about to be imparted. At the close of each section opportunity was given for the asking of questions and for informal discussion. The most important subjects were further elaborated in papers read by the students, giving the results of their own study and research. Much information was, therefore, given in the class-room in addition to that contained in the written lecture.

The chief difficulty in the preparation of these lectures for publication has been to replace the supplementary material without impairing the integrity of the work, or overstepping the limits of two small volumes. It was decided to keep within the limits set by the outline, to add only what the plan of the work seemed to require, and to give all additional statements of opinion, so far as possible, in the form of quotations.

The supplementary matter in the body of the work is chiefly biographical, consisting of additions to the brief notices of the original manuscript; but it has seemed necessary to the completion of the work to insert a few passages of considerable length. The most important of these are the sections on the study of Theology in the Eastern Church, and the accounts of Bernard of Clairvaux and of Savonarola. These had no place in the original and are entirely supplementary.

The opening chapters were not elaborated in the class-room (the ground having been covered in part in another course); and the attempt to fill up that outline leaves much to be desired. But the greatest difficulty was found in the chapters on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The first draft of these lectures was written, but was left incomplete and never revised. In his last illness Dr. Briggs was most anxious that the work should be completed, at least in the class-room, and sent over his manuscript to be read there; but he was never able to make the divisions into chapters and sections, to supply the summary statements, to complete the biographical notes, or to write the concluding passages. The missing summaries were found, for the most part, either in the text of the lecture or in his printed works. Others came from an unpublished address on the History of Theological Education.

Throughout the work, but especially in the first and last parts, free use has been made of writings already published, in the hope of securing greater accuracy of statement and a closer uniformity of style. But there is always danger of misrepresentation in such a use of sentences torn from their context. To lessen this

danger the attention of the reader has been called to the original passage by a footnote. If any statement thus made should appear dubious, the original context should be examined, in simple justice to the author. It must not be forgotten that this work in its present form has never been seen by him whose name it bears, that it is far from being what he would have made it, and that no error which may be found in it can justly be ascribed to him. His plan included large additions, especially to the study of Theology in Great Britain and America, and would probably have brought the history up to date. No attempt has been made to add an account of living theologians, comparatively few of whom came into prominence before the closing decade of the past century. To do so would have been to discriminate in the name of another between those who stood to him in personal relations, as friend, pupil, colleague, co-labourer. In this respect also the work must remain incomplete.

Only those who heard these lectures in the class-room can fully appreciate how much of what was given there is missing here. Dr. Briggs has been called by his colleagues and former pupils ' a teacher of teachers, sending men out inspired by his own enthusiasm for honest and independent investigation.' They have testified that ' sometimes his discussion of deep religious themes rose to an almost prophetic rapture.' Those who studied with him that last year could also bear witness to a power and a radiance of spirit that are not of this earth. What seems obscure in these pages he made luminous ; what seems dry he made of vital interest. The ideal which he set before his students, and the hope which he cherished, find expression in the passage chosen to

take the place of the concluding words which he did not live to write. That passage was first printed more than ten years ago; but to those who knew the writer it will come as a message of hope and inspiration from one who gave his life in this world to the study of Theology.

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HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the study of Theology is Theological Encyclopædia placed in its historical frame and order. It traces the study of Theology from the beginning until the present time. There is a study of Theology in all the higher religions. This book does not propose to go beyond the Christian religion. It is the history of the study of Christian Theology. It begins, therefore, with the study of Theology by Jesus Christ and His apostles.

Christian Theology may be studied with regard either to its contents or to its forms. The study of the contents of Christian Theology in their historic mould belongs to the department of Church History, as the history of the Christian Religion, of Christian Doctrine, of Christian Institutions, and so on. Theological Encyclopædia has to do only with the forms of Christian Theology, its methods, the organisation of the various departments of which it is composed, and its literature. The history of the study of Christian Theology is a history of its methods, its disciplines, and its literature.

The study of Christian Theology embraces the whole field of such study, whether public or private, whether institutional or unofficial and unorganised study. It also includes the results of such study in theological

literature. This book will be limited to the study of Theology in preparation for the Christian ministry, and by the ministry during their service of the Church. The more elementary instruction of the people and their study of Theology will come under consideration only so far as these elementary studies lead on to the higher ones.

PART I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE AGE OF THE APOSTLES

THERE has been a gradual evolution in the study of Christian Theology from the apostolic age until the present day. The history of theological scholarship traces that evolution through the several stages of its development. For the apostolic age it is necessary, first, to determine the environment and conditions under which Jesus and His apostles studied theology and taught it to their disciples. We have to consider: (1) the study of theology among the Jews in the time of Jesus; (2) Jesus' study and teaching of theology; (3) the study of theology by His apostles; (4) education in the Greek and Roman world; (5) the study of theology by St. Paul and his Greek and Roman disciples.

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE TIME OF JESUS

1. *Jewish Theology in the time of Jesus was the Theology of the Old Testament as interpreted and applied by the several religious parties.*

This was supplemented by the study of (1) the Apocryphal Books; (2) the Pseudepigrapha, consisting chiefly of apocalyptic writings; (3) oral traditional doctrines and institutions. But all these were based on the Old Testament Scriptures.

2. *There were two great divisions in Jewish Theology: the Palestinian and the Alexandrian; the former adhering more strictly to tradition, the latter mingling Greek with Jewish thought.*

The Jewish Rabbinical schools from the most ancient times recognised, alongside of the written Word of God, another oral or traditional Word of much greater extent, handed down from generation to generation in the esoteric teaching of faithful scribes, as the official interpretation of the Written Word. The Palestinian Jews emphasised the authority and importance of this body of traditional interpretation. The Hellenistic Jews were largely under the influence of the Platonic philosophy, which they sought to reconcile with the Old Testament Scriptures.

3. *In the Palestinian Theology there were two great parties: the Pharisees and the Sadducees; besides a mystic sect called the Essenes, and a revolutionary party called the Zealots.*

The Pharisees were the chief religious party among the Jews in the time of Jesus. The Sadducees had little influence among the people. The Zealots and the Essenes held with the Pharisees to the authority of the traditional interpretation of the Scriptures. The Pharisees subsequently committed this tradition to writing in the Mishna and Talmud.

Their ideal found expression in the saying ascribed to the Men of the Great Synagogue: 'Raise up many disciples, and make a fence to the Law.' [1]

4. *The Pharisees were the scholarly party, whose interest lay in the exposition and practical application of the Old Testament, especially the Law.*

The chief characteristic of the Pharisees was zeal for

[1] *Pirqe Aboth*, i. 1; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 388, 429 *seq.*, 447 *seq.*

the Law. This zeal manifested itself in the utmost scrupulosity as to details. The letter of the Law was unfolded to the utmost logical consequences. The motive was undoubtedly to remove every possibility of transgression, and to secure the utmost strictness and comprehensiveness in its observance. But the result was the raising of innumerable questions of casuistry, and the legalisation of religion, doctrine, and ethics. The Pharisees measured everything by the letter of the Law. The leaders of this party were the doctors and Rabbis, with whom Jesus came into constant contact and conflict in His ministry, and who finally forced the issue that led to His crucifixion.[1]

5. *There were two chief parties among the Pharisees: the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel; the former scholastic and pedantic, the latter more ethical and practical.*

The school of Hillel cultivated the gnomic method of Hebrew Wisdom and the Haggada. The school of Shammai emphasised the use of the Halaka.[2] The rivalry between these schools, and the high reputation of both teachers, is set forth in the saying: 'Whatsoever gainsaying is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established. . . . What gainsaying is that which is for the name of Heaven? The gainsaying of Shammai and Hillel.'[3]

6. *The Sadducees were the aristocratic party, especially prominent in the priesthood. They were chiefly interested in the institutions of religion; but were indifferent to doctrine, which they minimised in scope and importance.*

The Sadducees were not sceptical, but practical; they were sacerdotalists and ceremonialists. They denied

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 167 *seq.*
[2] *Vide* p. 14.
[3] *Pirqe Aboth*, v. 24, 25; *vide* Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 107.

such doctrines as those of the resurrection and of angels, regarding them as insufficiently sustained by the Old Testament, being found only in the later writings and those of dubious canonicity. The doctrine of the resurrection has slight support in the Old Testament save in Daniel. Continued existence may be proved from Job, but not resurrection. The place of Daniel in the Canon at this period was still dubious. The doctrine of angels was connected with Persian doctrine and with the degradation of the heathen divinities.

7. *The Essenes represented the mystic spirit in Judaism.* They had taken up into their thought and practice elements which were not Jewish, but were derived from other Oriental religions ; so that they were a syncretistic sect rather than a Jewish one. Their numbers were limited, and their influence in the development of Theology was slight and difficult to determine.

8. *The Zealots were religious enthusiasts.* They were ever ripe for revolution—enthusiastic students of prophecy, which they were ever eager to fulfil by their own deeds of violence. From them came many of the apocalyptic pseudepigrapha.

9. *With all of these parties save the Essenes Jesus came into contact, according to the Gospels.* There is no evidence in the Gospels that Jesus ever came into relation with the Essenes. The teaching and life of Jesus show no ascetic tendencies. So social was He in His ministry, that He was compared unfavourably in this respect, not only with John the Baptist, but also with the Pharisees.[1]

10. *The Alexandrian Jewish Theology was chiefly represented by Philo, who, however, must be regarded as*

[1] *Vide* Matt. xi. 16-19 ; Luke vii. 31-35 ; *vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, p. 263.

an extreme representative of the school. This Theology introduced elements from Greek philosophy to modify Jewish thought.

This type of Jewish Theology spread from Alexandria among the Greek-speaking Jews and over the Greco-Jewish world. Its influence appears in the Prologue of the Gospel of John, and in the Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Colossians; but one can find little, if any, trace of it in the teachings of Jesus himself.

11. *Jewish education in the time of Jesus was an education in the Old Testament Scriptures and in their interpretation and practical exposition. This was partly domestic, partly synagogal, and partly in Rabbinical schools.*

The Jews gave great attention to the training of their children in the Hebrew religion; and the many Rabbis educated in the higher Rabbinical schools, especially at Jerusalem and Alexandria, gave private instruction, not only in connection with the synagogues of Palestine, but also in the Jewish *Diaspora*.

12. *The parental education was a training in the elements of the Jewish religion, especially in the recitation of the 'Shema,' and the performance of religious rites and ceremonies. Doubtless certain Psalms and Proverbs, with the Ten Words and other of the most important passages of Scripture, were committed to memory for practical use.*

St. Paul advises Timothy: 'Abide thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a babe thou hast known the Sacred Writings, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.'[1] Josephus says: 'If any one should question one of us concerning the laws, he would more easily repeat all than his own name. Since

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 14-15.

we learn them from our first consciousness, we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls.' [1]

Among the first passages to be committed to memory would be the *Shema*, so called from its initial Hebrew word. The *Shema* is as follows:

Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God, Yahweh is One: and thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.' [2]

This passage was followed by Deut. xi. 13-21 and Num. xv. 37-41. The *Shema* was a confession of faith, the creed of Israel, said at morning and evening worship with appropriate prayers. Josephus [3] testifies that this was the custom among the Jews from remote antiquity, and therefore undoubtedly in the time of Jesus.

This creed excludes every kind of atheism, polytheism, and pantheism; and represents God as the supreme moral Being, worthy of all love. It gives expression to the great fundamental doctrine of the Jewish religion, that of the unity of God; and combines it with the great ethical principle of love. This creed of Israel was the creed of Jesus and His disciples.[4] Philo testifies that Jewish children 'are taught, so to speak, from their swaddling-clothes by their parents, teachers, and those who bring them up, even before instruction in the sacred laws and the unwritten customs, to believe in God, the one Father and Creator of the world.' [5]

[1] Josephus, *Apion*, ii. 18; *vide* Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, ii. ss. 27; English ed., vol. ii. pp. 47 *seq.*

[2] Deut. vi. 4-9.

[3] *Ant.* iv. 8, 13.

[4] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 24 *seq.*

[5] Philo, *Legat. ad Gaium.*, 16; *vide* Schürer, ii. p. 352; English ed., pp. 47 *seq.*

Among the prayers learned in the home were the most ancient of the *Shemone Esre*, or Eighteen Benedictions. According to the Berachoth, these prayers were to be used three times daily by all Jews, even children. They received their present form *c.* 70-100 A.D., but the groundwork is considerably older.[1]

Children must also have been taught the *Hallels*, especially those sung at the Passover: Psalms cxiii.-cxiv. before the Supper, cxv.-cxviii. after the Supper.[2] It is probable that the latter group constituted the song sung by Jesus and His disciples just before going to Gethsemane.[3]

The *Shema*, the companion passage from Deuteronomy, and two selections from Exodus,[4] were written on parchment and placed in two small leather boxes, called *Tephillin* or *Phylacteries*. These were bound by leather straps, the one to the forehead, the other to the arm, and worn during morning prayer, excepting on Sabbaths and feast-days.[5] They were placed upon boys for the first time at the age of thirteen.

The *Shema* and the other passage from Deuteronomy were also inscribed upon parchment, enclosed in a wooden or metal case, and attached to the upper part of the right-hand door-post of the house, to be touched by the hand on entering or leaving with a prayer. This was called the *Mezuzah*. The practice was based upon Deut. vi. 9. By these means several important passages were deeply impressed on the memory. At the base of such customs was the extreme literalism that was characteristic of the Pharisaic party.

13. *The education of the synagogue was partly in the exercise of public worship, and partly in synagogue schools.*

Philo calls synagogues 'Houses of Instruction,' in

[1] *Vide* Schürer, ii. pp. 384 *seq.*; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 18 *seq.*; Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 206 *seq.*

[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Commentary on Psalms*, i. p. lxxviii.

[3] Matt. xxvi. 30.

[4] Ex. xiii. 1-10, 11-16.

[5] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 183 *seq.*

which are taught the philosophy of the fathers and every form of virtue.[1] So also in the New Testament the synagogue appears as the centre of religious instruction for the Jewish community. Jesus says: 'I ever taught in synagogues and in the temple, where all the Jews come together.'[2] It was 'His custom' to visit the synagogue on the Sabbath day. He went about teaching in the synagogues.[3] It was also the custom of Paul to begin his work by preaching in the synagogue.[4]

14. *The worship of the synagogue was chiefly on the Sabbath, and consisted in the recitation of the 'Shema,' the offering of prayers and benedictions, the reading of selections from the Law and the Prophets, the cantillation of Psalms, and an expository discourse.*

Among the various accounts of the preaching of Jesus in the synagogues, there is one which describes Him as reading the selection from the Prophets, and preaching upon the passage.[5] The scene was doubtless repeated in many of the synagogues of Galilee and Peræa.

The Acts give a sermon preached by Paul in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch, 'after the reading of the Law and the Prophets,' in which there is a reference to 'the voices of the Prophets' as 'read every sabbath.'[6] James also testifies that 'Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath.'[7] Another name for the synagogue was 'the place of prayer,'[8] and for the needs of its worshippers many of the later Psalms were written or adapted.[9] Upon the worship of the synagogue was based the worship of the early Church.

[1] *Vide* Schürer, ii. pp. 357. [2] John xviii. 20.
[3] Luke iv. 16; Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; Mark i. 39.
[4] Acts ix. 20; xiii. 14; xiv. 1; xvi. 13; xvii. 2, 10, 17; xviii. 4+.
[5] Luke iv. 16-22. [6] Acts xiii. 15, 27. [7] Acts xv. 21.
[8] Acts xvi. 13; Josephus, *Vita*, 54; Philo, *Vita Mosis*, iii. 27; *vide* Schürer, ii. p. 370.
[9] *Vide* Briggs, *Commentary on Psalms*, pp. lxxxix. *seq.*

15. *Synagogue schools existed in the time of Jesus, but little is known concerning them.*

In these schools children were probably taught to read, and possibly to write, the Hebrew language, and to recite passages from the Old Testament and translate them into the Aramaic or spoken language. Jesus meets, in His journeys, with Rabbis all over Galilee and Peræa, as well as in Jerusalem. This makes it evident that in all the larger towns, such as Capernaum and Nazareth, Rabbis were at work giving instruction in the Law.

A tradition recorded that Joshua ben Gamla (Jesus, son of Gamaliel) urged that teachers of children be appointed for every province and every city, and that children go to them from six or seven years of age onward.[1] This prescription involves in its language the existence of such schools long before.[2]

The elementary school was called 'the House of the Book,' the higher school 'the House of Study.'[3] In the lower school the work consisted chiefly in committing to memory, in the higher school in exposition and interpretation. The larger towns like Capernaum probably had higher schools.

Josephus says that at fourteen years of age he had such an accurate knowledge of the Law that he was consulted regarding it by the high priest and the first men of Jerusalem.[4] Evidently he was consulted on matters of interpretation, and was at that age a graduate of the higher school.

16. *There were certainly Rabbinical schools of a higher order in Jerusalem. Whether they also existed at other places in Palestine, in the time of Jesus as in later times, we do not know.*

It is probable that there was at least one such school

[1] *Baba Bathra*, 21*a*.
[2] *Vide* Schürer, ii. p. 353.
[3] בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ ; בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר. *Jer. Megilla*, iii. 1 (73*d*).
[4] Josephus, *Vita*, 2.

on the Sea of Galilee, possibly at Capernaum ; and there may have been one in Peræa. On one occasion when Jesus was teaching, 'there were Pharisees and doctors of the Law sitting by, which were come out of every village of Galilee and Judæa and Jerusalem.'[1] The scribes and doctors of Law were *homines literati* ; and their work involved the interpretation of the Scriptures, the teaching of the Scriptures, and the application of the Scriptures to particular cases, especially in questions of law.[2]

17. *The method of study in the time of Jesus was chiefly the method of question and answer, and the committing to memory of passages of Scripture and the sayings of distinguished Rabbis.*

The post-Biblical Jewish literature consists of: (1) *Targums*, or paraphrases of the Old Testament, in Aramaic; (2) early commentaries, in Hebrew; (3) sayings of the Rabbis in gnomic or haggadistic forms, the earliest of these in Hebrew; (4) discussions as to the interpretation of the Law, in the *Mishna* and *Baraithoth*, in Hebrew, but the later elements in *Gemara* and *Tosephtoth* in Aramaic. These were not written until several generations after they were composed, and were transmitted orally. The Targums represent the paraphrastic translation of the Old Testament into Aramaic used in the synagogues of the time of Jesus. The commentaries represent the interpretation taught in the Rabbinical schools. Of the sayings of the Rabbis, the earliest are from the time of Jesus. The discussions in the various layers of the Talmud rest upon discussions from the time of Jesus, for the most essential characteristic of the entire Pharisaic-Rabbinical movement is its strong traditionalism, resting on an authoritative tradition from which it was not proper to deviate.[3] The whole of

[1] Luke v. 17.
[2] Schürer, ii. pp. 254 *seq.*
[3] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 231 *seq.*

the Old Testament was lodged in some memories, and the questions and answers of Rabbis in various degrees. The whole of the Mishna and Baraithoth, and other elements of the Targums and Talmuds, were handed down from teacher to pupil orally. The mind was a library in those days when manuscripts were scarce and copies infrequent. The earliest of the sayings of the Rabbis now extant are preserved in the *Pirqe Aboth*.[1] Only a limited amount of their traditional interpretation of the Law has passed over into Christianity.

18. *There were, at the same time, scribes who copied for public or private use the Sacred Writings and other religious documents.*

These professional copyists used the reed pen, ink from an ink horn, and rolls made of skins or papyrus. The Old Testament existed in many copies, each consisting of several rolls. In ancient times each Sacred Writing was inscribed on a separate roll. The first layer of the Hebrew Canon, the Law, was probably written on several skins, eventually on five, corresponding with the five books which gave their name to the Pentateuch. The second layer of the Canon was written on eight rolls. The Minor Prophets were written sometimes on separate rolls, but usually on the same roll, after their number was definitely fixed in the Canon. The third layer of the Canon was not definitely limited among the Jews until the close of the first Christian century.[2]

The work of the scribe included the teaching and interpretation of the Scriptures.

19. *The study of Theology was essentially the interpretation of the Old Testament by the two chief methods, the Halaka and the Haggada, each of which had its rules as a result of generations of expository study.*[3]

[1] *Vide* Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers.*
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 130, 170.
[3] *Vide* Briggs, *ibid.*, pp. 429 *seq.*

The *Halaka* consisted in an exposition and application of the Law, usually in the form of a dialogue between master and pupils, with questions and answers. This method appears in the *Mishna* and the *Beraitha*, and also in the later strata of the *Talmuds*. It was essentially the method of Socrates. The *Haggada* was a more popular method and consisted in teaching by way of illustration, with a use of the forms of historic or imaginative fiction in prose, and of similes, allegories, enigmas, and proverbs in the poetic forms of Hebrew Wisdom.[1] The earliest tract of the *Mishna* contains fine specimens of this method of instruction, which is amply represented in the Old Testament, as well as in the Apocrypha, the Talmud, and early Jewish literature.

The Halaka method is legal, the Haggada illustrative and practical. From these, two other methods of interpretation were subsequently derived: the *Peshat*, or determination of the literal sense, a branch of the Halaka method; and the *Sodh*, or determination of the mystical or allegorical sense, a species of the Haggada.[2] Logical and rhetorical rules were devised to regulate the use of these methods with the intention of removing difficulties. The *Sodh* was used in the most ancient times by the Essenes and Zealots, and found expression in the apocalyptic literature of the four centuries in the midst of which the Messiah appeared. The *Peshat* is used in the Targum of Onkelos and the Greek version of Aquila, with reference to the Law; but found little representation among the ancient Jews.

20. *There are several kinds of literature in the Old Testament; and this variety influenced the Rabbis to use in their teaching essentially the same methods. These were the legal, the gnomic, the poetic, and the prophetic methods.*

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 14 *seq.*
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 430 *seq.*

All of these methods were used in the time of Jesus, but by many teachers they were perverted, until the legal method degenerated into casuistry and hair-splitting refinement, the poetic method into idle tales and absurd legends, the prophetic method into strange combinations and fanciful reconstructions.

21. *The Halaka method was used for the interpretation of the Law, usually by logical deduction.*

The Pharisees made use of this method in their discussions with Jesus. Some interpreters limited its use to the exact literal statement in the form called *Peshat*; but there was little of this literalism in the time of Jesus.

22. *The gnomic method is the method of Hebrew Wisdom.*

This method makes use of gnomic distichs, tristichs, tetrastichs, etc., and even poems with strophical organisation. There are fine examples of the gnomic method in the sayings of the Jewish Fathers. One of these must serve as a specimen:

'There are four characters in those who sit under the wise:
A sponge, a funnel, a strainer, and a sieve:
A sponge, which sucks up all;
A funnel, which lets in here and lets out there;
A strainer, which lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs;
A bolt-sieve, which lets out the dust and keeps back the fine flour.'[1]

23. *The poetic method is the illustrative, and appears partly in the use of poetry, such as the Psalms and other poetic pieces from the Old Testament; and partly in the use of prose fiction, such as Ruth, Jonah, Esther, Tobit, and Judith.*

The Old Testament and the Apocrypha contain a large amount of poetry, and also prose works of the imagination. The haggadistic literature of the Jews,

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 395, 416 *seq.*

used chiefly for the instruction of the people in the synagogues and in the schools, was largely composed of such writings. Jewish Rabbis used parables, stories, and legends of every variety of form and content with the utmost freedom, in order to teach doctrine and morals, and even to illustrate and enforce the legal precepts of the Jewish religion.

24. *The prophetic method is based on the Hebrew Prophets.*

This is the method of rhetorical discourse. It was the method of John the Baptist, who was recognised as a prophet; and it was used by all those endowed with the prophetic gift in the early Church.[1]

25. *By the use of these methods in the study of the Scriptures there had originated in the time of Jesus a larger theology, enveloping the theology of the Old Testament.*

To use the Rabbinical precept, this body of doctrine was 'a hedge' about the Law: to use the words of Jesus, it was (1) a making void the Word of God by tradition; (2) a tithing of mint, anise and cummin, and neglecting the weightier matters of the Law; (3) an obstruction to those who would enter the kingdom of God.[2] And yet, on the other hand, it was not entirely without value in that it contained a certain amount of faithful exposition and practical application of the Old Testament, discoverable, however, only by separating the wheat from the chaff, the gold from the dross.

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 338 *seq.*
[2] Matt. xv. 3-6; xxiii. 13, 23-24.

CHAPTER II

JESUS' STUDY OF THEOLOGY

1. *There should be no doubt that Jesus was a great student of Jewish Theology during the thirty years that preceded His entrance upon His ministry.*

The older writers so emphasised the divinity of Christ, that they altogether neglected to study His human nature and its development. For this there is little external but much internal evidence. Modern writers have devoted themselves chiefly to the life of Jesus from the baptism onwards, or to the teachings of Jesus. It is necessary also to consider the environment of Jesus, and His relation to that environment, during the thirty years which preceded His public life. The first thirty years of a man's life determine his whole subsequent career. The development of the human nature of Jesus does not conflict with His divinity.

2. *Joseph was a son of David, the heir to the throne, and as such the inheritor of a great and noble tradition.*

He was a worker in wood, it is true; but the most famous Rabbis were workers in one trade or another, and such work did not involve a lack of education and culture. St. Paul was a tent-maker, though member of a prominent family, and educated to the highest degree as a Rabbi.

Joseph was a broad-minded man. He would deal with Mary kindly as well as justly.[1] He was careful

[1] Matt. i. 19.

in his observance of Jewish customs and ceremonies, and regular in his attendance on the feasts at Jerusalem.[1] He journeyed to Egypt with his wife and the child Jesus, and spent some months there. Travel in his case, as in that of others, meant an extension of culture. His residence in Nazareth and his occupation as a carpenter brought him into contact with the Greek-speaking population of Galilee. It is therefore probable that he had some acquaintance with the Greek tongue. It has even been suggested that he was a Rabbi. While this is possible, there is no real evidence for or against it.

3. *Mary, the mother of Jesus, was a kinswoman of Elisabeth, the wife of the priest Zacharias, whom she was accustomed to visit.*[2] *She must have been not only pious but intelligent, and undoubtedly was familiar with the traditions of the Davidic and the priestly lines.*

According to the Gospels Mary received a divine revelation,[3] which implies her knowledge of Messianic prophecy respecting the Davidic line.[4] She conceived her son by the theophanic presence and power of the Holy Spirit.[5]

A Christian Hymn, couched in prophetic language, is placed in her mouth in the Gospel of the Infancy. The early date of that Canticle[6] makes it difficult to suppose that it could have been thus ascribed, if Mary had not been known as the possessor of spiritual power. The Acts indeed includes her among the women present on the Day of Pentecost, who were filled with the divine Spirit in fulfilment of the prediction of Joel;[7] and she is named among the prophets of the Apostolic Church

[1] Luke ii. 41. [2] Luke i. 5 *seq.* [3] Luke i. 26-38.
[4] *Vide* Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 46 *seq.*
[5] Luke i. 35; Matt. i. 20.
[6] Luke i. 46-55; *vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 164 *seq.*; *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 77 *seq.*
[7] Acts i. 14; ii. 1, 4, 16-18.

in more than one early writing.[1] For the story of the birth and childhood of Jesus she is the primary source. Luke repeatedly states that she retained in her memory all the sayings and events connected with the child Jesus, and 'pondered them in her heart.'[2]

4. *The parents of Jesus knew that He was born of the Holy Ghost; and, although they did not understand the mystery of His birth, they knew that He was called to be a prophet and teacher of the people.*

They knew that the child Jesus was from His birth in a special relation to God.[3] This being so, and they being what they were, it is evident that they would give Him the very best education that was possible. Josephus speaks for his race when he says: 'We take most pains of all with the instruction of children';[4] and Philo also, when he declares that the Jews are 'instructed in the knowledge of (their laws) from their earliest youth.'[5] According to Luke the child Jesus 'grew, and waxed strong, becoming full of wisdom: and the grace of God was upon Him.'[6]

5. *At twelve years of age Jesus was so absorbed in attendance upon learned Rabbis in Jerusalem, that for three days home and parents were forgotten.*

This absorption implies previous preparation, studious habits, and what we would call precocious intellectual interest and ability.

The boy Jesus both asked and answered questions in this assembly of learned doctors, and it is said that 'all that heard Him were amazed at His understanding.' His words to Mary show that He was already conscious that He was the Son of God in a special sense, and was

[1] *Vide* Zscharnack, *Dienst d. Frau in . . . d. christl. Kirche*, pp. 21, 59 *seq.*
[2] Luke ii. 19, 51.
[3] Luke i.-ii.; Matt. i. 18-25.
[4] Josephus, *Apion.* i. 12.
[5] Philo, *Legat. ad Gaium.*, 31; *vide* Schürer, ii. ss. 27; English ed. pp. 47 *seq.*
[6] Luke ii. 40.

called to do His Father's business. But His submission to His parents shows that He was also aware that His time had not yet come.[1]

6. *Jesus returned to the retirement of Nazareth, where He remained for eighteen years, advancing 'in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men.'* [2]

These years were doubtless years of devout study, preparatory to the Messianic ministry. The boy who at twelve years of age appeared in the temple so inquiring, so self-contained, so assured of His mission, and so intent upon doing the will of His Father, must have spent those eighteen years in the study of the Sacred Writings, and in all other learning that was accessible to Him. The wisdom of Jesus as manifested in His sayings, His skill in argument as shown in all His discussions with the Pharisees, His wonderful parables, excelling the haggadistic teaching of the greatest Rabbis, make it evident that He had made Himself master of all that the Rabbis of His time had to teach Him, and that He easily surpassed them all.

7. *Jesus shows a wonderful familiarity with the Old Testament Scriptures.*

This enabled Him to discuss triumphantly with the most learned Rabbis of Galilee, Peræa, and Jerusalem. He must have studied those Scriptures thoroughly and deeply. There is no need to explain this acquaintance with the Scriptures by divinity. On one occasion Jesus summed up the whole law in the opening words of the *Shema*, and the ethical teaching of both Law and Prophets in two commands, taken from different codes.[3] After His resurrection He gave His disciples a summary

[1] Luke ii. 41-50; *vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, p. 170; *Incarnation of the Lord*, pp. 42 *seq.*

[2] Luke ii. 52.

[3] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 155 *seq.*

of the entire Old Testament revelation in its unity, and presented Himself and His kingdom as its central theme.[1] The story of the Temptation illustrates His personal use of the Scriptures as the norm of His own conduct.[2] His disciples learned from Him the distinctive principles of Scriptural interpretation, which enabled them to avoid the perils of the allegorical and legal methods of the times.

8. *Jesus is recognised as a Rabbi by His disciples, by Nicodemus, himself a learned Rabbi of Jerusalem, and by others, both Pharisees and Sadducees; although His methods of teaching were in some respects different from theirs.*

Jesus said to His disciples: 'Ye call me "Teacher" and "Lord"; and ye say well, for so I am.'[3] He appeared as a Rabbi among Rabbis. In all the Gospels He is represented as a great teacher. He is compared with the other Rabbis of the time; and He used the methods and the forms of instruction which they used.[4] He differed from them, indeed, so far as to excite their astonishment; yet some were prepared to say with Nicodemus: 'Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God.'[5]

9. *Jesus had the rare accomplishment of writing.*[6]

Some Jews are said to have asked: 'How knoweth this man learning, having never learned?' The author of John vii. 15 gives this remark, but does not endorse it. This statement has misled many to the opinion that Jesus was an uneducated peasant. The evidence is all against this idea. He is called a Rabbi, not only by the unlearned, but by other Rabbis.

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 441.
[2] Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12-13; Luke iv. 1-13.
[3] John xiii. 13.
[4] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 14 *seq.*
[5] John iii. 2.
[6] John viii. 6-8.

10. *The familiarity of Jesus with the Old Testament, and His use of it in the synagogue, imply His knowledge of Hebrew. His residence in Galilee, His occupation, and His intercourse with Greeks, favour His knowledge of Greek. He used ordinarily in conversation Aramaic, the language of the native population.*

Luke represents Jesus as reading the pericope of Isaiah lxi. in the synagogue of Nazareth on the Sabbath day.[1] Jesus read the passage in Hebrew, gave an Aramaic translation according to custom, and then expounded and applied it in an Aramaic sermon.

11. *Jesus uses skilfully the Halaka method in His arguments with the Pharisees.*

A considerable portion of the teaching of Jesus is of the nature of Halaka, especially in the Gospels of Mark and John. It is probable that His teaching in the synagogues was chiefly of this kind, as it was an interpretation and application of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. In His earlier ministry a large part of His teaching was given in the synagogues. Yet the Halaka preserved for us in Mark and the other Synoptists is chiefly that used in discussions with the Pharisees. In these discussions Jesus employed the method of reasoning of the Rabbis of His time. He thus defeated them with their own weapons, using the method to which they were accustomed and which to them was most convincing.[2]

This use of Rabbinical logic and methods of argument implies Rabbinical training.

12. *Jesus uses the Haggada method in a wonderful manner in His parables.*

The Haggada is Jesus' own favourite method of teaching, inasmuch as His discourses were in the main

[1] Luke iv. 16 *seq.*

[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 25 *seq.*; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 437 *seq.*

addressed to the people. The most striking feature of His teaching, and that which has received the most consideration, is His parables. These are of two kinds: (1) the Parables of the Kingdom, which all belong to the class of enigmas, and need a clue for their interpretation; (2) the Parables which illustrate the divine love and salvation, and are easy of application. Jesus was the great master of the Haggada method. In His interpretation of prophecy and history He also came into connection with the allegorical method, and it has been claimed that He applies this method with the freedom of a Hellenist. There are several allegories in the Gospel of John, although no parables. In that Gospel there is little teaching of the people, but rather esoteric teaching of the disciples and arguments with the Pharisees.[1]

13. *Jesus uses constantly the gnomic method of Hebrew Wisdom.*

The greater part of the teaching of Jesus, as it appears in Matthew and Luke, is in the gnomic form of Hebrew Wisdom. This was derived by these Gospels for the most part from the *Logia* of Matthew. All of these logia came from Hebrew originals, and show the parallelisms and measures of Hebrew poetry. Jesus was a master of this method also, and gives a greater variety of form than any other sage.[2]

14. *Jesus uses the prophetic method of instruction.*

He was not only a Rabbi, but also a prophet; and therefore His teaching assumes the prophetic form. Even in the Halaka and the Haggada the prophetic element is pre-eminent. But the Gospels contain teach-

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 15 *seq.*; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 438 *seq.*

[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 20 *seq.*; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 416 *seq.*

ing which finds its precedents not in the methods of the Rabbis, but in those of the Old Testament prophets. The Synoptic Gospels give prophetic discourses, apocalyptic in character, prophetic sayings, predictions and symbolic acts. In the Gospel of John the prophetic element in the teaching of Jesus is especially prominent.[1] This method is that of the prophets of the early Church. Upon it the sermon of the Church is based. It is the method of the evangelist and the revivalist, of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

Thus Jesus adapted His teaching to the various classes of men whom He came to instruct, and used the several methods appropriate to the Rabbinical school, the synagogue, the popular audience, and the individual disciple in his esoteric training.[2]

15. *The use of all the methods known to Jewish scholarship at the time makes it evident that Jesus had studied all these methods and was familiar with their application. Thus in the methods of scholarship, as well as in its substance, He was the most learned Rabbi of His time.*

In each one of these methods Jesus excels all the Rabbis of His own and of subsequent times. Formerly this superiority was ascribed to His divine wisdom, but in our day His divinity is not invoked to explain His actions as a man. We must therefore attribute His superiority in human wisdom, both in form and substance, to His own study in preparation for His work.

16. *Jesus, moreover, was original, both in the method and in the substance of His teaching.*

Jesus shows wondrous grasp, insight, and foresight—the greatest endowments of scholarship. It is evident that He had studied more widely and deeply than any Rabbi of the age. In His interpretation of Scripture

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 29 *seq.*
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 441 *seq.*

He does not hesitate to contrast His own with the traditional interpretation, or to add His teaching to the ancient revelation, or even to substitute one higher still. The Rabbis interpreted the Old Testament to accord with the traditions of the elders, Jesus interpreted it to accord with the mind of God. His own Word He presents as an ethical norm, which determines entrance into the kingdom of God. It is the test of wisdom and folly, of life and death. The word of Jesus has the same normative authority as the will of God. It is indeed the last and highest expression of the will of God.[1]

17. *Jesus impressed His hearers with the originality of His method, in not appealing to traditional authority but speaking with authority from a firm and assured grasp of the truth itself.*

The people were astonished at the teaching of Jesus, because He taught them 'as having authority,'[2] and made no appeal to traditional authority as did the scribes. The chief priests and the scribes demanded to know who gave Him His authority.[3] The Pharisees, seeking to ensnare Him in His talk, were yet compelled to acknowledge: 'Teacher, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, and carest not for any one; for thou regardest not the person of men.'[4] The disciples of Jesus, when asked whether they would leave Him, replied through Peter, their spokesman: 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.'[5]

18. *The substance of the teaching of Jesus was a transformation, fulfilment, and enlargement of the Theology of the Old Testament, giving indeed a New Testament, and making Him the world's greatest teacher.*

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 47 *seq.*
[2] Matt. vii. 28-29; Mark i. 22.
[3] Luke xx. 1-2.
[4] Matt. xxii. 16.
[5] John vi. 68.

Jesus was charged with teaching His disciples to violate the Law; but He said that He had come to fulfil it, and that the Law and the Prophets would be fulfilled, not abrogated. There is no such antithesis between the Old Testament and the New as many moderns hold, basing themselves on a misinterpretation of the attitude of St. Paul toward the Jewish Christians. There is in the New Testament no mere rehashing of the Old Testament, as Judaisers would have it. There is no explaining away of the Old Testament by allegorical methods, as the Alexandrians would have it. The Old Testament in the teaching of Jesus passes over into a New Testament, which is the most natural, appropriate, harmonious fulfilment of the Old, and was so designed to be from the beginning.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY BY THE APOSTLES

1. *Jesus gathered about Him gradually a large body of disciples, out of which He selected twelve to be with Him in His journeys and receive special preparation for the work to which He had called them.*

A careful study of the Gospels shows that there was a natural and simple development in the calling, training, and sending forth of the twelve apostles by Jesus during His life on earth. The Synoptic narrative tells of the call of the four fishermen, Simon and Andrew, James and John, and of Matthew the publican. The narrative of John tells of the call of Andrew and Simon, Philip and Nathanael, and a fifth, probably John. How and when the others among the Twelve were called by Jesus we are not told. But it was not long before a group of twelve was selected to be the companions of Jesus in His ministry.[1] This following of Jesus involved the abandonment of home, family, and property, and a share in His sufferings, the endurance of hunger and cold, sorrow and reproach. At the installation of the Twelve Jesus gave them the Sermon on the Mount, in which He called them blessed because of their voluntary renunciation of all things in order to follow Him. The list of the Twelve gives the names in pairs, because these disciples were sent forth in pairs on their missions.[2]

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 34 *seq.*
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 224 *seq.*

The list is as follows :[1] (1) Simon and Andrew, (2) James and John, (3) Philip and Bartholomew (Nathanael), (4) Thomas and Matthew, (5) James bar Alphæus (Mary), and Lebbæus=Thaddæus=Judas, his brother, (6) Simon the Canaanite, or Zealot, and Judas Iscariot.[2]

2. *These disciples were all pious Jews. Inasmuch as they were selected by Jesus to be teachers and preachers, we may conclude that they already had special qualifications for such work.*

Jesus' choice of them to be His companions, assistants, and representatives implies that they had ability and intellectual acquirements as well as piety. The fact that four of them were fishermen, and one a publican, does not militate against this. Jesus saw that they could be made 'fishers of men.'[3]

3. *These pious Jews had doubtless the elementary Jewish education, and some of them probably a higher education.*

It is probable that James and John, Philip, Nathanael and Thomas, at least, had received an education somewhat higher than the common one.[4] Philip and Nathanael were students of Scripture. John seems to have been acquainted with the high priest, and must therefore have been a man of some position.[5] Early in His ministry Jesus preached and baptized for a time in the neighbourhood of the Baptist, and the disciples of Jesus were with Him, serving as His assistants.[6] Indeed, it was not Jesus who baptized, but His disciples. His first disciples therefore began very soon to assist Him in His ministry, and must have been qualified for such service.

[1] *Vide* Matt. x. 2-4; Mark iii. 16-19; Luke vi. 13-16; Acts i. 13.
[2] *Vide* Briggs, 'The Apostolic Commission,' in *Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve*, i.
[3] Mark i. 17. [4] *Vide* Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, pp. 6 *seq.*
[5] John i. 45 *seq.*; John xviii. 15-16. [6] John iii. 22-30; iv. 1.

4. *At least five of these Twelve, probably six, had been disciples of John the Baptist, and had been trained by him in his doctrines and methods.*

Andrew and Simon, Philip and Nathanael, were all with John the Baptist at the time that he pointed out Jesus to his disciples as the Messiah. The disciple whose name is not given, and who was one of the two that followed Jesus as 'the Lamb of God,' was in all probability John. It is therefore likely that his brother James, who is associated with him in the Gospels on various occasions, was also a disciple of the Baptist. All of these men had received the baptism of repentance and were actively engaged in preparation for the coming of the Messiah, in accordance with the teaching of their master.

5. *All the Twelve had the unique privilege of being trained by Jesus Himself.*

They were all constantly with Him for some months of study and preparation. Jesus regarded them as given to Him by the Father. He made them all His friends, and entrusted to them His teaching.[1] One of those thus privileged testified that, 'having loved His own which were in the world (Jesus) loved them unto the end.'[2]

6. *The preparation of the Twelve for their ministry was partly in form and method, partly in substance and doctrine.*

The Twelve were trained as prophets, priests, and kings of the kingdom of God by the Messiah Himself. In their training the theoretical and the practical were combined. They were taught by example as well as precept, and were given opportunity to practise what they learned in a ministry of assistance. They were shown that there is an ethical relation in the teaching of

[1] John xv. 15; xvii. 6, 8. [2] John xiii. 1.

Jesus between knowing and doing, and that the knowledge of the higher teaching depends upon the practice of the lower.[1] They were warned against the Pharisees as teachers that 'say and do not.'[2]

7. *The Twelve were instructed by Jesus in all that is found recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, and much that is contained in the Gospel of John.*

All of this they learned from the lips of the great Teacher, not merely by hearsay or tradition, and therefore it must have made a deeper impression upon them than ordinary teaching. The disciples of Jesus were devoted pupils, and reproduced the teaching of their Master.

8. *They also learned much that is not recorded in the Gospels.*

The instruction of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels is chiefly ethical, the institutional and the doctrinal being in the background. We cannot explain the apostolic teaching and organisation of the Church, unless we suppose that a considerable amount of the teaching of Jesus of that kind was recorded only in the minds of the apostles, and not committed to writing. According to John xxi. 25, if all that Jesus did and said 'should be written every one, . . . even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.'

The teaching of Jesus preserved by the Synoptists is chiefly ethical, and based on the Old Testament. That which is new in the teaching of Jesus in doctrines of faith, is for the most part connected with Himself and His saving acts; and this teaching He could not give in His lifetime, save in parables and in esoteric teaching, or by other indirect methods. So also in matters of institution. It is impossible to build Christian institu-

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 42 *seq.*
[2] Matt. xxiii. 3.

tions upon the Gospels. If based upon the teaching of Jesus, it must be built upon teaching not recorded in the Gospels.

9. *One of the most important things learned by the Twelve from Jesus was His method of teaching and preaching.*

We may be sure that the Twelve, like all enthusiastic disciples, were faithful to the methods of their Master. They and their disciples use His methods in the teaching preserved in the New Testament, while differing among themselves as to the tendencies of their thought. Peter, James, Jude, Matthew, and Mark incline to use the Haggada method; Stephen, Paul, and Luke the more learned Halaka method; John and the author of the Hebrews the Sodh or allegorical method; but in them all the methods of the Lord Jesus prevail.[1]

10. *After several months of preparation, the Twelve were sent forth in pairs throughout Galilee to teach and to preach as Jesus had done.*

The Twelve taught the Master's doctrine, and used the Master's methods, and thus they learned by practice as well as by precept. To their theoretical training by teaching and example was now added a practical experience in teaching and in the use of the methods of Jesus. They were sent to preach repentance and the coming of the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick; thus combining with their preaching a ministry of mercy in imitation of their Master. They were sent forth in pairs to conduct missions throughout Galilee, and this mission probably continued until shortly before the last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem. But it is probable that one of these pairs always remained with Jesus; at one time John and James, at another Andrew and Peter, at another Matthew and Thomas. In sending forth the

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 448.

Twelve, Jesus gave them a solemn charge, in which He commissioned them to do what He Himself was doing: to preach the advent of the kingdom, and to seek and to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel. They were to make no provision for their journey, but were to go forth in poverty. They were not to be deterred by persecution, and were to leave no hostile community without warning.[1]

11. *Jesus, after sending forth the Twelve, continued His instruction of other disciples; then selected Seventy, and sent them forth to work in Perœa and Judœa.*

Although the sending forth of the Seventy is reported only by Luke, there is no good reason to doubt it, for Luke is an accurate writer. Luke alone reports the Peræan ministry; the other Evangelists give but slight allusions to it.[2] The Seventy were to do in Peræa and Southern Palestine what the Twelve did in Galilee. The group of logia connected with the sending forth of the Twelve in Matthew is evidently composed of logia spoken on more than one occasion; indeed, a combination of Peræan with Galilean logia.[3] This is an indirect evidence of a double mission of the disciples of Jesus. These Seventy disciples were apostolic men, who, like the Twelve, had devoted themselves absolutely and completely to the service of Jesus, in response to a special call from Jesus Himself. Other disciples also received, from time to time, the apostolic call; but Jesus did not, so far as it appears, send forth during His ministry any other groups of apostles save the Twelve and the Seventy.[4]

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, p. 224; *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, chap. iii.; 'Apostolic Commission,' in *Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve*, i.
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 31 *seq.*
[3] *Vide* Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 238 *seq.*
[4] *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 226 *seq.*

12. *After the return of both the Twelve and the Seventy, they were again for some time under the instruction of the Master. They went with Him through Passion week in Jerusalem, saw Him crucified, and saw the risen Christ. All these events, the greatest and most important in all history, must have impressed them to a wonderful degree, and wrought a transformation in their religious experience.*

This period of time was short, but contained events of the utmost importance, bringing to the disciples a knowledge of the person and the saving acts of Jesus, for which all that preceded had been a preparation. The teaching of the apostles is just the interpretation of those saving acts, and of the person of Jesus as Messiah, Son of God, and Saviour.[1]

13. *The Master instructed the disciples after His resurrection, explained to them the significance of all that had transpired, and commissioned them to organise and teach His Church.*

The four Gospels and the Acts all give post-resurrection discourses, and there is no sound reason to doubt that such teaching was given by Jesus after His resurrection. The passages are not to be disposed of on any sound principle, whether of the Lower or of the Higher Criticism, but only on those of a speculative historical criticism, which makes that which seems probable to the individual the test. The Gospels all represent that Jesus gave a final commission to the Twelve. Luke tells us that Jesus gave His disciples full instruction respecting His fulfilment of the Messianic predictions of the Old Testament. Without some such instruction it is difficult to explain the preaching of the Twelve as reported in the Acts.

No inconsiderable portion of the teaching of Jesus may have been given after the resurrection. It is upon the experiences of those forty days, as well as upon the

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 1 *seq.*, 38 *seq.*

previous ministry of Jesus, that the faith and the life of the Apostolic Church were grounded.[1]

14. *The disciples of Jesus were finally endowed with power from on high by the theophanic descent of the divine Spirit to organise and to instruct the Church.*

Jesus had promised His disciples :

'I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may be with you for ever, (even) the Spirit of truth. . . . Ye know Him ; for He abideth with you, and shall be in you. . . . He shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you. . . . He shall bear witness of me. . . . I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall guide you into all the truth ; . . . and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come. He shall glorify me : for He shall take of mine, and shall declare (it) unto you.'[2]

This promise was fulfilled to the apostles and their associates, who were endowed by the Holy Spirit with charisms suited to their commission, both by external theophanic manifestation on the Day of Pentecost, and subsequently by His internal presence and guidance.

15. *The Twelve did in fact organise the Church, and instruct the ministry ordained by them as Jesus commissioned them. The Book of Acts gives some account of the work of the Twelve in the Jerusalem Church, but for the most part their work has no record in history.*

The apostolic commission was fulfilled by the apostles and their successors. That commission as given by Jesus was :

'All authority hath been given unto me.
Go ye therefore into all the earth,
And make disciples of all nations ;
Baptize them into my name,
And teach them to keep my commands ;
And I am with you unto the End.'[3]

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 110 *seq.*
[2] John xiv. 16-17, 26 ; xv. 26 ; xvi. 12-14.
[3] Matt. xxviii. 18-20 ; *vide* Briggs, 'Apostolic Commission' in *Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 10.

Since Jesus selected the Twelve, trained them, endowed them with the divine Spirit, and commissioned them to establish His Church in the world, we can only conclude that they were better qualified than any other men to do this work, and we must suppose that they actually accomplished the work which He gave them to do. Indeed, we cannot explain the Church of the second century, unless we suppose that other and still more powerful influences than that of St. Paul were at work during the first century, for it is evident that the Church of the second century was not Pauline.

16. *The Twelve and the Seventy used the methods of instruction of Jesus, especially the prophetic method and the Halaka. The Epistle of James uses the gnomic method.*

The Twelve and the Seventy have left us little in the form of literature, and that little is all in the Greek language and the forms of Greek literature. If we had any of it in Hebrew, we should doubtless find more resemblance to the methods of Jesus. Nevertheless, it is evident from these writings that they used the methods of Jesus rather than those of the Greeks.[1] It is altogether probable that St. Matthew, as well as St. James, made use of the gnomic method; although we have nothing from his pen but his collection of the gnomic Wisdom of Jesus. Other disciples, such as Thomas, probably used the same method. The Book of Acts gives only discourses, which, in the very nature of the case, would be prophetic or halakistic. Luke derived his material as to the teaching of the Twelve chiefly from the Jerusalem source, probably written by Mark. But Mark in his Gospel gives us but few of the gnomes of Jesus, and little of His Haggada; and some of this comes from the second and third additions to the Gospel. He would not be likely to give much teaching of this kind in his brief record of apostolic preaching. We are

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 443 *seq.*

left therefore to the probabilities of the situation. These are that the immediate disciples of Jesus, having been trained by Him in His methods of teaching, would be most likely to use them.

17. *The teachings and labours of the Twelve and the Seventy, though left without record in literature, were none the less fruitful in the Apostolic Church, which they established.*

If the Twelve and the Seventy carried out the commission given by Jesus Himself, they must have taught His teaching, and used His methods all over Palestine after His resurrection, and in other parts of the world. That which they taught is to be seen in the organisation of the Church of the second century, and in the apostolic teaching handed down in their traditions. We are inclined to give St. Paul too great credit for the establishment of Christianity in the world. But in fact it was St. Peter and the Twelve, and their disciples, who established the Church in Jerusalem and all over Palestine; yes, in Samaria, the Phœnician and Philistine coasts, in Antioch, and in Rome. St. Paul builds on the work of the Twelve, who preceded him in the ministry by some years.

CHAPTER IV

GREEK AND ROMAN EDUCATION IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE

1. *The last century before Christ and the first of the Christian era constitute the golden age of Greco-Roman scholarship.*

Among the great writers of this period were the philosophers and moralists Philo, Seneca, Epictetus, and Plutarch; the poets Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal; the historians Sallust, Livy, Strabo, Cæsar, Tacitus, and Josephus; the orators and rhetoricians Cicero, Quintilian, and Dion Chrysostom; and the scholars and critics Varro, Probus, Pliny, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Greek scholars carefully preserved 'the varied stores of ancient learning.' Latin writers produced original work, but 'founded mainly on Greek models.'[1] This was important to Christianity as affecting its environment.

2. *There was a common method of education all over the Greek and Roman world.*

There were three grades of schools in the Roman Empire at this time: the grammar school, the rhetorical school, and the university. (*a*) The grammar school corresponded with our common school, and was attended

[1] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. pp. 143, 169.

by pupils from the ages of seven to fourteen. These schools were

'of two types; the one for the teaching of the Greek language, the other for the Latin language. . . . The Latin Grammar Schools at least were to be found in every city in the empire, and remained as one of the most persistent institutions of the old Pagan civilisation until the overthrow of Roman culture by the barbarians. . . . In the grammatical school the object was to give a mastery of the language, a correctness of expression in reading, in writing, and in speaking, and to do this through a familiarity with the best Greek and Latin authors. . . . It is certain that to some extent mathematics, music, and rudimentary dialectics were introduced into the grammar schools. . . . This combination of function continued, especially in smaller communities, late into imperial times.'[1]

(*b*) The rhetorical school was attended usually, from the age of fourteen upwards, by the wealthy or more ambitious students. The purpose of this school was to prepare the student for public life by training in literature, composition, public speaking, and good manners. Most cities had such schools.

Quintilian complains:

'The rhetoricians, especially our own, have relinquished a part of their duties, and . . . the grammarians have appropriated what does not belong to them. . . . Let grammar know its own boundaries; . . . for, though but weak at its source, yet, having gained strength from the poets and historians, it now flows on in a full channel; since, besides the art of speaking correctly, . . . it has engrossed the study of almost all the highest departments of learning.'[2]

(*c*) The university gave opportunity for special training in the higher branches of knowledge. Here philosophy and criticism were the chief studies. The great universities were those of Alexandria in Egypt, Pergamon in Asia Minor, Antioch in Syria, Athens in

[1] Monroe, *History of Education*, pp. 198 *seq.*
[2] Watson, *Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory*, ii. 1, 2.

Greece, Rome in Italy. There were also smaller universities at Tarsus in Cilicia, and elsewhere.

According to Sandys,[1] Athens 'continued to be frequented as a school of philosophy.' 'The scholars of Alexandria were . . . mainly but not exclusively concerned with the verbal criticism of the Greek poets.' 'The school of Pergamon found room for a larger variety of scholarly studies,' and included in its curriculum, together with grammar and literary criticism, the philosophy of the Stoics, chronology, topography, the study of inscriptions, art, and the history of art.

The university of Rome had its origin in the founding of a library in the Temple of Peace by Vespasian (69-79 A.D.). Monroe says :

'Under Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) and the later emperors interested in literature and education, this was developed into a definite institution termed the *Athenæum*, though it resembled more the university at Alexandria. Following the influence of this institution and the practical genius of the Romans, the university gave more attention to law and medicine than to philosophy. The liberal arts, especially grammar and rhetoric, were fully represented both in the Latin and in the Greek languages. Later teachers of architecture, mathematics, and mechanics were appointed by the emperors—at least by Alexander Severus. These lines of instruction represented the entire work of the university.'[2]

To these three grades of schools two others may be added : the *elementary* and the *professional* school.

(*d*) *The School of the Ludimagister* 'never attempted to give more than the merest rudiments of the arts of reading, writing, and calculation.' Among the Romans they were very common ; but 'this phase of education, being non-Grecian, never received any general attention, nor such teachers—often mere slaves—any public esteem.'[3]

[1] Sandys, i. pp. 144, 163 *seq.*
[2] Monroe, *History of Education*, pp. 197 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*

(*e*) Professional schools existed for the study of law and medicine. Beirut had a great law school as well as Rome. Gibbon says that 'all the civil magistrates were drawn from the profession of the law. . . . The rudiments of this lucrative science were taught in all the considerable cities of the East and West; but the most famous school was that of Berytus. . . . After a regular course of education, which lasted five years, the students dispersed themselves through the provinces, in search of fortune and honours.' [1]

There was a great medical school at Alexandria with rival parties, the Empirical and the Methodist. Pergamon and Rome were also important centres of medical instruction in the first Christian century. Asclepiades and Celsus, 'the Cicero of medicine,' were among the famous physicians of Rome. The celebrated Galen, of the second Christian century, was born at Pergamon, was trained in Alexandria, and practised at Rome.

3. *The studies necessary for education in Greece, in the early times, were the three: grammar, music, and gymnastics. Seneca raises this number to five, omitting gymnastics, and adding arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. In Varro's work these expand to seven, logic and rhetoric being separated from grammar.*

The Greeks described the educated man as one who had been trained in the circle of knowledge. The Latin equivalent is given by Quintilian: '*Orbis ille doctrinae quem Graeci ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν vocant.*' [2] This circle of knowledge consisted, at an early date, of grammar, music and gymnastics. Under grammar was included reading, writing, literature, and rhetoric, begun in the grammar schools and carried higher in the rhetorical schools.

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 121 *seq.*
[2] Quintilian, *Instit.*, I. x. 1.

These three branches of study had become five in the time of Seneca, *i.e.* grammar,[1] music, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy; grammar having still the same extended meaning. Varro, the great grammarian and teacher of the first century before Christ (116-27 B.C.), wrote an encyclopædia embracing nine disciplines. To the five given by Seneca he added two by distinguishing logic and rhetoric from grammar. The seven thus obtained became fixed in the second Christian century, and as the trivium and quadrivium they dominated education for fifteen hundred years. To these Varro adds two more, the professional studies of medicine and architecture. He omits law and philosophy; not that he ignores them, but that he does not include them in his work.

The three, the five, or the seven studies, in the several stages of classification, constituted those which were necessary for an educated man.

The greatest grammarian and teacher of rhetoric in the first Christian century was Quintilian (35-95 A.D.), whose *Institutio Oratoria* became the classic basis for education, and so remained all through the early and the Middle Ages down to the Reformation. Even Erasmus says of him: 'It seems a mere impertinence in me to handle afresh a subject which has been made so conspicuously his own by the great Quintilian.'[2]

4. *The chief masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature had been composed before the middle of the first Christian century, constituting a literature in Greek and Latin much more extensive than that of the Hebrews.*

These masterpieces were the study of the pupils in the grammar and rhetorical schools. In the rhetorical schools, and still more in the universities, they were

[1] Seneca, *Ep.* 88.

[2] Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ss. 5; *vide* Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, p. 166.

interpreted in accordance with the principles laid down by Plato and Aristotle, and the great grammarians and rhetoricians. Textual and literary criticism was cultivated in the study of this literature.

There was a decline in classical scholarship in the second Christian century. Already in the first century, according to Sandys, grammatical studies had become 'more narrow' than in the last century of the republic.

'The preparation of practical manuals for educational purposes (had) superseded the scientific and learned labours of a Varro. . . . The second century, in which Suetonius with all his varied learning must be regarded as little more than a minor counterpart of Varro, was in matters of scholarship an age of epitomes and compilations. Learning became fashionable, but erudition often lapsed into triviality, and the ancient classics were ransacked for phrases which ill assorted with the style of the time.'[1]

5. *The great schools of Greek philosophy had long been in existence. Socrates* (469-399 B.C.), *Plato* (420-348 B.C.), *and Aristotle* (384-322 B.C.) *were long past. They were familiar to Greek and Roman scholarship, as they have ever been to scholars since. So also the lesser schools of Pythagoras* (*c.* 580-500 B.C.), *Zeno* (364-263 B.C.), *Epicurus* (341-270 B.C.), *and Pyrrhon* (*c.* 360-270 B.C.) *had long been established.*

In the centuries in which Christianity originated, the philosophic schools were all, more or less, modifications of the older schools. There was the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of Philo († *c.* 40 A.D.), a compound of Platonism with Jewish Wisdom; and that of the Neo-Pythagorean Apollonius of Tyana, in the time of Nero. There were the eclectic Platonists, Theon of Smyrna and Plutarch of Chaeronea, in the time of Trajan, and Galen († *c.* 200), all emphasising the divine transcendence; the New Stoics, Seneca (3-65 A.D.), teacher

[1] Sandys, i. p. 214.

of Nero, Epictetus of the time of Domitian, Marcus Aurelius, and others; the real Eclectics like Cicero, and the newer Sceptics and Epicureans. In the second Christian century there was the greatest confusion in philosophy, only paralleled in our own days.

Justin Martyr tells us,[1] in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, how he went from one philosopher to another in his search for the true God—from a Stoic to a Peripatetic, from a Pythagorean to a Platonist—and how he was finally converted by a venerable Christian. Although he writes of the situation that existed in the early second century, he describes what was equally true of the first century A.D., wherever St. Paul and his associates carried on their missions.

Whatever differences there may have been in the study of philosophy, logic had by that time been thoroughly elaborated in those principles and methods which have persisted until the present day. We are still Greek in our logic.

6. *The study of theology among the Greeks and Romans coincided on the doctrinal side with the study of philosophy. On the institutional side it was given over to the priests of the various religions, local or general, whose business it was to instruct the people in religious rites and ceremonies, and to conduct these themselves.*

There is a profound truth in the saying of Clement of Alexandria, that Greek philosophy was a preparation for Christ, as was the law of Moses. It was, indeed, necessary for the religion of Christ to take on the robes of Greek philosophy in order to conquer the Greek world. It is the fashion to exaggerate that influence, as though it had not only transformed but changed the substance of the Christian religion. But in fact all that Christianity assumed from Greek philosophy was method, literary

[1] Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 2-8.

form, and logical principles of construction, which, to no appreciable degree, affected the sacred substance of Christianity as given by Jesus Christ and His apostles.

7. *Roman law was also an important preparation for Christianity, especially in its work for the Roman world. The foundations of Roman law had long been laid, and its principles were taught by learned lawyers, especially in Rome and in the law school at Beirut.*

This influence was chiefly felt on the institutional side of Christianity, and that almost exclusively in the government and discipline of the Church. It was necessary for the Church to assume, to some extent, the forms of Roman law in order to exist in the Roman Empire, and to evade, so far as possible, its intolerance. But this appropriation did not impair the substance of Christianity.

8. *Medicine and the fine arts had also their part to play in early Christianity. Both of these disciplines were well advanced in apostolic times.*

St. Luke represents the medical faculty among the early Christian teachers, as is evident not only from the reference of St. Paul to 'the beloved physician,'[1] but also from the internal evidence of the Lukan writings.

The care of the sick formed an important part of pastoral cure from the earliest times. There were many in the ministry of the early Church who had at least a practical knowledge of the art of healing. The deacon had need of it, so also had the solitary. The monastery required a physician among its inmates. Basil was not the only bishop with a theoretical knowledge of medicine. His fellow-student Gregory rivalled him in this branch of learning, if in no other.[2] In later times also eager

[1] Col. iv. 14.

[2] *Vide* p. 141.

students added medicine, or law, or both, to the study of theology.

The influence of the fine arts upon the writings of the New Testament, especially the Book of Revelation, has been shown by Piper.[1] They were also influential in the development of the cultus, and in various departments of practical theology.

[1] Piper, *Einleitung in die Monumentale Theologie*, pp. 13 *seq.*, 17 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*

CHAPTER V

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY BY ST. PAUL AND HIS ASSOCIATES

1. *The Apostolic Church had a large number of teachers who had not been trained by Jesus.*

Some of these had received chiefly a Jewish training, others a training partly Jewish and partly Greek. Few had an education predominantly Greek.

2. *St. Mark was a Jew of Jerusalem. His mother's house was a meeting place for Christians;*[1] *and he himself was a cousin of St. Barnabas,*[2] *and especially attached to St. Peter. His Gospel was probably written originally in Hebrew.*

Mark's family being well-to-do and resident in Jerusalem, it is probable that he, like St. Paul, had received Rabbinical training. His Gospel and his work show that he was an educated man. Whether it was he who translated his Gospel into Greek, or some one else, we do not know. He must have been familiar with Greek, for he accompanied St. Paul and St. Barnabas in their missions to the Greek world, and finally went to Rome. He shows no evidence, however, of Greek culture, beyond what any scholarly man would imbibe from an intercourse with Greeks in different parts of the Roman Empire, extending through many years. He was a link between St. Peter and St. Paul.

[1] Acts xii. 12, 25.

[2] Col. iv. 10.

3. *St. Barnabas was a Levite born in Cyprus. He became a Christian prophet at Jerusalem, and was sent forth by the Church of Antioch as an apostle. His point of view was intermediate between St. Peter's and St. Paul's.*

It is probable that Barnabas received his early education in Cyprus, and his later training in the Rabbinical school at Jerusalem. He was a man of culture and position, and owned property in Jerusalem, which he sold for the benefit of poor Christians.[1] He seems to have had an acquaintance with Saul of Tarsus, for he introduced him to the apostles.[2] It is not certain whether this acquaintance dates from joint study in Tarsus, or in the Rabbinical school at Jerusalem, probably the latter. The apostles gave to Barnabas his name of *Son of Exhortation*,[3] evidently because of his power as a prophetic teacher. The Church of Antioch ordained him, together with St. Paul, as an apostle for missions in Cyprus and Asia Minor. After working in fellowship for some years, first in Antioch and then on their foreign missions, Paul and Barnabas agreed to separate and carry on their work apart.[4] It is possible that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas; but the so-called Epistle of Barnabas is pseudepigraphic, or else from another of that name, an Alexandrian, as many think.

4. *The greatest influence in apostolic Christianity, apart from St. Peter and St. John, the chiefs of the Twelve, was Paul of Tarsus.*

St. Paul was born in Tarsus of Cilicia, where he lived in early life. There is no evidence that he received any education in Greek schools. His father was a Pharisee,[5] and would therefore have kept him in Jewish schools; and yet the Greek language and literature certainly had

[1] Acts iv. 37. [2] Acts ix. 27.
[3] Acts iv. 36; xi. 22-24; xiii. 1-2; xv. 35.
[4] Acts xv. 37-40. [5] Acts xxiii. 6.

influence upon him, and it is evident that he knew something of Greek literature, Greek philosophy, and Greek methods of speech and writing. He uses the Greek language with facility, and yet not in the best rhetorical style. His logic and rhetoric are Hebrew, not Greek. He uses the Haggada and Halaka, as well as the prophetic methods of instruction. The gnomic method he does not use, although his rhetoric at times is so poetic that it is possible to arrange it in the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry. With Greek literature he shows no familiarity. He quotes three minor poets: Cleanthes, the Stoic of Mysia, or Aratus of Cilicia,[1] Menander,[2] and Epimenides;[3] but considering the extent of his writings this number of quotations is small. To Greek philosophy he seems rather hostile. Epicureans and Stoics took part in his discussions at Athens,[4] and with them he seems to have come into conflict, but no other schools are mentioned either in his Epistles or in the Book of Acts.

5. *St. Paul was also a Roman citizen, and as such influenced by Roman methods of law and administration.*

St. Paul shows himself familiar with Roman law and its administration, when he appears before Roman courts to argue in defence of Christianity and of himself. It is evident that he knew the principles of law. The fundamental principles are the same in Jewish and Roman as in all other kinds of law, yet St. Paul seems to have known something of Roman as distinct from Jewish law. It is altogether improbable, however, that he had received a legal training. His knowledge of law was acquired by special study, made necessary by his frequent appearance in courts of law.

[1] Acts xvii. 28.
[2] 1 Cor. xv. 33.
[3] Titus i. 12.
[4] Acts xvii. 18.

6. *Above all, St. Paul was a Pharisee, and received the highest training that a Pharisee could have, at Jerusalem.*

Paul, in his own words, was brought up in Jerusalem 'at the feet of Gamaliel,' the greatest Rabbi of the time, and 'instructed according to the strict manner of the law of (his) fathers, being zealous for God.' [1]

To him was entrusted the task of overcoming Christian teachers by debate in the synagogue, and of pursuing them to Syrian cities.[2] He had 'advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of (his) own age among (his) countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of (his) fathers,' and 'as touching the righteousness which is in the Law,' he was 'found blameless.' [3]

7. *Thus Paul combined in himself to a remarkable extent the Roman, Greek, and Jewish elements, which were necessary to make him the great apostle to the Greek and Roman world.*

He had a comprehensive mind, and was the greatest theologian of the apostolic Church, chosen by the risen and glorified Lord to be the great teacher of primitive Christianity, 'to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery' of Christ, and 'that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs (with the Jews) and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus.' [4]

8. *St. Paul, after his conversion by the immediate call of the risen and glorified Christ, spent three years of study in Arabia before undertaking the great work given him to do by his Lord.*

Paul himself gives three years for the sojourn in Arabia.[5] They were in all probability spent in private study, which was necessary, in order that he might overcome his Pharisaic prejudices and reconcile for

[1] Acts xxii. 3.
[2] Acts ix. 1-2; xxii. 4-5; xxvi. 9-12.
[3] Gal. i. 14; Phil. iii. 5-6.
[4] Eph. iii. 1-12.
[5] Gal. i. 18.

himself the Law and the Gospel. This reconciliation is the great principle of his teaching.[1]

9. *St. Paul gathered about him a group of disciples who went with him on his missionary journeys.*

St. Paul chose from among his converts men of ability to accompany him on his journeys, to act as his messengers and representatives, and to assist him in his preaching and teaching. He used the same methods of theoretical and practical training that Jesus had used with His disciples.

10. *Silas, Timothy, and Titus were all well-trained men, selected by Paul himself, and eventually commissioned by him with apostolic authority over the churches.*

Silas, or Silvanus, was a prophet sent by the Church of Jerusalem with Paul and Barnabas to Antioch with the decision of the Council of Jerusalem.[2] He became a companion of Paul on the missionary journey which he undertook soon afterwards. He was Paul's associate and representative to the churches of Macedonia and Greece, and doubtless had some Greek training. His name appears with that of Timothy in the salutations of Paul's Letters to the Thessalonians.

Timothy was the favourite disciple and companion of Paul, and his name is joined with that of the apostle in six of his Epistles, namely: 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians. Two of the letters of Paul are addressed to him. Timothy was from Derbe or Lystra. His father was a Greek, his mother a Jewess. He was circumcised by Paul himself.[3] According to 2 Timothy,[4] he had been trained in the Jewish Scriptures from childhood, and his mother Eunice and his grandmother Lois had preceded him in the acceptance of the Christian faith. How far he had

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 73 *seq.*
[2] Acts xv. 22-40. [3] Acts xvi. 1-3. [4] 2 Tim. i. 5; iii. 15.

received from his father a Greek education we have no means of knowing.

Titus was of Greek parentage, and was never circumcised.[1] Whatever education he had must have been Greek. He was probably a native of Antioch, and soon became a helper of St. Paul in his missions. He is probably the author of the *We* sections in the Acts, and that is the reason that his name is not mentioned in that book. An Epistle is directed to him, and he was entrusted with the care of the church of Crete.

11. *Luke was a physician at Rome, and represents in the New Testament the beginning of Church history.*

It is evident from his writings that Luke was a man of culture and of real ability as an historian. He gives evidence of a knowledge of Greek methods of historicity, and also of medicine. He must have had a Greek education. He was 'the beloved physician' of the apostle Paul, and was with him in Rome when he wrote to the Colossians, and again when he wrote to Timothy.[2]

12. *Apollos was an Alexandrian Jew, and introduced into the Church the Alexandrian type of religion.*

He was doubtless trained in the schools of Alexandria. He is described in the Acts as 'a learned man,' 'mighty in the Scriptures,' and 'fervent in spirit.' In his ministry in Greece he was remarkably successful, for 'he helped much through grace them which had believed,' and 'powerfully confuted the Jews, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.'[3] The Epistle to the Hebrews, whether written by him or by a kindred spirit, represents also the Alexandrian school of thought, especially in the use of the allegorical method of interpretation.[4]

[1] Gal. ii. 1-3.
[2] Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11.
[3] Acts xviii. 24-28.
[4] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 434 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*

13. *St. Paul has left us quite a full record of his teaching and his method in his Epistles.*

He was the great theologian of the Christian Church, and his influence has been felt especially through his writings. These are for the most part familiar letters to friends and beloved churches. As such they preserve the substance of his teaching, and at the same time show how he varied his method, adapting it to the particular case.

14. *The teaching of St. Paul is at once institutional and doctrinal, in both respects unfolding and adapting to the Greek and Roman world the teaching of Jesus and the primitive apostles.*

Some of the important teachings of St. Paul appear also in the First Epistle of St. Peter and the writings of St. John. This does not imply dependence upon St. Paul, but rather a consensus of the apostolic teachers on these principles. Where the apostles seem to differ, they do so in writing from different points of view, and give supplementary, complementary teaching. In their interpretation of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and of His teaching and that of the Old Testament, the apostles under the guidance of the Spirit all interpreted in accordance with the mind of the reigning Christ, as Jesus had interpreted in accordance with the mind of the Father. This organic living method of interpretation is the true Christian method. It explains the variations as well as the concord in the teaching of the apostles.

15. *When one looks upon Christian Theology as a whole at the close of the apostolic period, one sees added to the Old Testament a considerable body of literature, which was gradually being organised into a New Testament.*

In the formation of the New Testament the same three layers appear as in that of the Old Testament. The fundamental Gospels correspond with the funda-

mental Law; the Pauline Epistles correspond with the Prophets; the other Epistles and the Apocalypse correspond with the *Hagiographa*, or Writings of the Old Testament, in both cases a more indefinite and irregular group.

16. *Besides these writings there were oral apostolic tradition, and the institutions of government and discipline and worship, established by apostolic authority.*

The primitive disciples received their knowledge of the Christ and His teaching from the oral instruction of the apostles and their associates, confirmed by miracles and other manifestations of the presence and activity of the divine Spirit, both objective and subjective. As Jews they were already instructed in the Old Testament Scriptures, which remained to them as Christians a divinely inspired and authoritative canon.[1] The oral interpretation of the Old Testament continued to be an important part of Christian education. To this teaching were added institutions of government and worship, which taught objectively, and were as authoritative as the instruction in doctrine.

17. *The apostles and teachers of the Church of the third and fourth generation received their earlier education in the Jewish, Greek, or Roman schools; but their special Christian education in the company of older apostles and teachers, and by a study of the New Testament as well as of the Old Testament writings. Their practical training was received in the institutions of the Christian Church: in its worship, government, and discipline.*

They were instructed in the apostolic teaching as the norm of faith and life, whether recorded in the New Testament or attested by the consensus of the churches established by the apostles. The authority of apostolic teaching was recognised in matters of institution as well

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, p. 2.

as in those of faith. The institutional training, from the very nature of the case, was the principal training for many Christians. The importance of this training, which is practical and experimental, has often been overlooked through interest in the doctrinal training. The Twelve and their successors were to be priests and kings as well as prophets in the kingdom of God. The Christian ministry had to be trained in the exercise of the priestly and the royal as well as of the prophetic function. Christian institutions of government and worship had their part in the building up of the apostolic Church.

PART II

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE SECOND CHRISTIAN CENTURY

1. *The study of theology in the second century was chiefly in the Greek world and in the Roman Empire.*

Doubtless there continued to be a study of theology in the Semitic world also, under the guidance of the disciples of the Twelve and the Seventy, but there is little historical trace of it.

2. *The chief teachers of the Church in the second century were Greek-speaking Christians.*

Greek was the religious language of Christians in the West as well as in the East, in Rome and Africa and Gaul, as well as in Alexandria, Antioch, and Asia Minor. It was spoken in all parts of the Roman Empire, and its use enabled the Christian teacher to give instruction to foreign students or in foreign countries, and the local church to hold close and frequent intercourse with all other churches, even those situated in distant lands.

3. *The chief Christian teachers of the second century were trained in the Greek schools of rhetoric, and some of them in the schools of philosophy also.*

Christianity began to attract the attention of students in the schools of philosophy. Teachers of philosophy could no longer ignore it. To meet their attacks or to answer their inquiries there was need of a body of apologists acquainted with both Christian doctrine and Greek philosophy, and trained to plead, to persuade, and to convict. There was also need of Christian teachers qualified to instruct converts from the philosophical schools, to prepare men of the highest education for baptism, and to train them up as teachers of Christian theology or philosophy.

4. *The numberless Gnostic sects, claiming to possess the true wisdom, were Oriental in their origin rather than Greek. They claimed an esoteric wisdom, which was imparted only to the elect; and they had a secret discipline or training for their disciples.*

Gnosticism is really a syncretistic religion, a compound of Christianity with Oriental mysticism. The war waged by the Christian Church in the second century with Gnosticism was even more difficult than the conflict with Judaism or with heathenism. The necessity of battling for genuine Christianity against the many spurious forms proposed by the Gnostics forced Christian writers and teachers to appeal for authority to the traditions of the apostolic sees and to the apostolic writings.

5. *The religions of Isis and of Mithras made extensive propaganda in the Roman Empire, especially in the West, in the early Christian centuries.*

The religion of Isis was a revival of the ancient Egyptian religion; the religion of Mithras a revival of Persian Mazdaism. These religions were propagated by the army and by travelling merchants, rather than by missionaries. They also had their esoteric doctrine and forms of worship, into which only the well-trained were

initiated. It is noticeable that the religions with which Christianity came into conflict were largely Oriental.

6. *The early Christians did not neglect the education of their children or of converts to the Christian faith. Coming as they did from Greek, Hebrew, Roman, and Oriental races, they brought with them the habits of study which were so characteristic of the Eastern and Western world in the centuries in the midst of which Christianity arose.*

The children of Christians and adult converts were trained in the catechetic schools attached to every Christian congregation, usually by the presbyters or the bishop himself. Such catechetical training was necessary in order to Christian baptism, and then still further in order to partake of the Holy Communion. This was the secret discipline of Christianity in the first and second centuries, by which the teaching of the apostles and the institutions of government and discipline which the apostles established were perpetuated in the Christian Church. In this way was maintained that concord in apostolic tradition to which Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement point as characteristic of the Catholic Church, though scattered throughout the world, over against heresies of every sort.

7. *The Christian teachers of the second century were trained by older Christian teachers in the apostolic tradition and in the Sacred Writings, just as their predecessors had been by the apostles themselves.*

This training was practical as well as theoretical ; and even the theoretical was given by personal intercourse rather than by lectures or text-books. Thus, even in the Greek universities, as Newman, Sandys, and others agree,

'Philosophy lived out of doors. No close atmosphere oppresses the brain or inflames the eyelid ; no long session stiffens the limbs. Epicurus is reclining in his garden ; Zeno looks like

a divinity in his porch; the restless Aristotle, on the other side of the city, as if in antagonism to Plato, is walking his pupils off their legs in his Lyceum by the Ilissus.'

'It was what the student gazed on, what he heard, what he caught by the magic of sympathy, not what he read, which was the education furnished by Athens.' [1]

This is a faithful representation of the training of the early Christian minister by the apostles and their successors.

8. *The Christian literature of the second century, so far as preserved, confirms what has been said. This literature is nearly all Greek, so that we are limited thereby to the Greek world; but though no Semitic literature has been preserved, there is sufficient reason to think that if any were extant it would show that the study of theology by Jesus and His apostles was carried on by their methods in the Orient also.*

We cannot limit the teaching of the Catholic Church to that which has been transmitted to us in the writings of the second century now extant, for many of the great bishops and teachers of that period have left no literary monuments, and the writings of many other influential teachers have been lost.

9. *The Christian Church was, by wise tactics, and under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, propagated first in the chief cities of the Roman Empire by St. Paul and his associates.*

It was in just these cities that the highest culture of the time was found. It is a mistake to suppose that the leading Christian teachers of the early Church were chiefly of the lower classes. The disciples of the apostles, like the Jewish proselytes, were among the more intelligent and higher classes of the cities.

[1] Newman, *Historical Sketches*; *vide* Sandys, i. p. 87.

10. *Antioch was one of the chief seats of Christian culture; and the letters of its second bishop, Ignatius, are masterpieces of rhetoric and of thought, second only to those of St. Paul in early Christian literature.*

According to Sandys, Antioch is

'described as a home of learning and culture in the youth of Cicero's client, the poet Archias, who was born *c.* 119 B.C. A library, with a temple of the Muses, was also founded there by the last of the Antiochi (after 69 B.C.). Antioch thus received from the last of the Seleucids the gift of a "Museum," which Alexandria had received from the first of the Ptolemies.'[1]

The Church of Antioch was established at an early date, and became the first great Greek community of Christians. It is significant that the terminology of Christianity seems to have originated at Antioch with the words *Christian*, *Church*, *Catholic*, and *Apostle*;[2] and that the first great propaganda to the Gentiles began there with St. Paul and St. Barnabas, as also the first great Christian controversy. Antioch must have been, then as later, a great seething mass of population, a centre of intellectual and moral conflict; for East and West, Greek and Oriental, met there as nowhere else in the empire. In the second century the church of Antioch was the most highly developed of all the Christian churches with the possible exception of the church of Rome, as may be seen from the letters of Ignatius, said to have been its second bishop.

Ignatius († 110-117), while on his way to martyrdom in Rome, wrote seven letters. Those to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, and Romans were sent from Smyrna; those to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp, their bishop, were written at Troas. Ignatius was undoubtedly a disciple of apostles. He was also one who had 'many deep thoughts in God,' who might hope to receive from his Lord revelations, and

[1] Sandys, i. p. 165.

[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Church Unity*, p. 47.

who was 'able to write of heavenly things.'[1] Yet he deemed himself 'not yet perfected in Jesus Christ,' rather as 'now beginning to be a disciple.' His readers were his 'schoolfellows.' He was not sure that he was worthy to suffer, and begged for their prayers.[2] He implored the Romans to make no effort to save him :

'Grant me nothing more than that I be poured out a libation to God, while there is still an altar ready. . . . I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread. . . . The pangs of a new birth are upon me. Bear with me, brethren. . . . Suffer me to be an imitator of the passion of my God. . . . Even though I myself, when I am with you, should beseech you, obey me not; but rather give credence to these things which I write unto you.'[3]

He reminds the Ephesians :

'Ye are associates in the mysteries with Paul, who was sanctified, who obtained a good report, who is worthy of all felicitation; in whose footsteps I would fain be found treading, when I shall attain unto God.'[4]

To the Philippians he wrote :

'I heard certain persons saying: "If I find it not in the charters, I believe it not in the Gospel." And when I said to them, "It is written," they answered me, "That is the question." But as for me, my charter is Jesus Christ; the inviolable charter is His cross, and His death, and His resurrection, and faith through Him.'[5]

11. *Polycarp of Smyrna, Asia Minor, was a pupil of the apostles, and taught as bishop until old age. One of his letters, an epistle to the Philippians, has been preserved. He suffered martyrdom about the year* 155.

Irenæus refers to Polycarp as one of those through whom 'the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles, and the preaching of the truth has come down to' the Church of his own day. He says :

[1] Ignatius, *Ad Trall.*, 4, 5; *Ad Eph.*, 20.
[2] *Ad Eph.*, 3; *Ad Trall.*, 4, 12.
[3] *Ad Rom.*, 2, 4-7. [4] *Ad Eph.*, 4. [5] *Ad Phil.*, 8.

'Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth; for he tarried [on earth] a very long time, and, when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom, departed this life, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true. To these things all the Asiatic churches testify, as do also those men who have succeeded Polycarp down to the present time.'[1]

In a letter to Florinus preserved in Eusebius' *History*,[2] Irenæus warns him:

'These doctrines, the presbyters who were before us, and who were companions of the apostles, did not deliver to thee.

'For when I was a boy, I saw thee in lower Asia with Polycarp. ... I remember the events of that time more clearly than those of recent years. For what boys learn, growing with their mind, becomes joined with it; so that I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and the manner of his life, and his physical appearance, and his discourses to the people, and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord. And as he remembered their words, and what he heard from them concerning the Lord, and concerning His miracles and His teaching, having received them from eye-witnesses of the "Word of Life," Polycarp related all things in harmony with the Scriptures. These things being told me by the mercy of God, I listened to them attentively, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart. And continually, through God's grace, I recall them faithfully.'

Eusebius describes Polycarp as 'a disciple of the apostles, a man of eminence in Asia, having been entrusted with the episcopate of the church of Smyrna by those who had seen and heard the Lord.'[3]

Ignatius ascribes to him a 'godly mind, grounded as it were on an immovable rock,' and gives him counsel in words which have a prophetic ring:

[1] Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, iii. 3, 4.
[2] Eusebius, v. 20.
[3] Eusebius, iii. 36.

'The season requires thee, as pilots require winds, or a storm-tossed mariner a haven, that it may attain unto God. . . . Let not those that seem to be plausible, and yet teach strange doctrine, dismay thee. Stand thou firm, as an anvil when it is smitten. It is the part of a great athlete to receive blows and conquer.' [1]

Upwards of forty years later, when Polycarp came to die, he had the reputation of being an 'apostolic and prophetic teacher,' whose every word 'was accomplished and would be accomplished.' His people testify to his 'blameless life from the beginning,' and to the honour shown to him for that 'holy life, even before his grey hairs came.' The mob at Smyrna demand his death as 'the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of (their) gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice or worship.' [2] Irenæus describes him as 'a man who was of much greater weight, and a more steadfast witness of truth, than Valentinus and Marcion, and the rest of the heretics. He it was who, coming to Rome in the time of Anicetus, caused many to turn away from the aforesaid heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received this one and sole truth from the apostles—that, namely, which is handed down by the Church.' [3] In a letter to Victor of Rome Irenæus testifies to Polycarp's concern for the unity of the Church, saying :

'When the blessed Polycarp was at Rome, in the time of Anicetus, and they disagreed a little about certain other things, they immediately made peace with one another, not caring to quarrel over this matter. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe what he had always observed with John, the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had associated; neither could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, as he said that he ought to follow the customs of the presbyters that had preceded him. But though matters were in this shape, they communed together, and Anicetus conceded the

[1] Ignatius, *Epistle to Polycarp*, 1, 3.
[2] *Epistle of Smyrnæans*, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19.
[3] Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, iii. 3, 4.

administration of the Eucharist in the church to Polycarp, manifestly as a mark of respect. And they parted from each other in peace, both those who observed, and those who did not, maintaining the peace of the whole Church.' [1]

The only writing left to us by Polycarp is his Epistle to the Philippians, which Irenæus calls a 'powerful letter,' and Jerome describes as 'very valuable,' and as read in his day 'in the meetings in Asia.' [2] According to the chronology now generally accepted Polycarp must have been between twenty-five and thirty years of age at the death of the apostle John. He is an important link in the succession of teachers by whom the apostolic tradition was preserved.

12. *Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, was also, according to Irenæus, a pupil of the apostles. He wrote 'Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord,' the earliest Christian commentary, which has been lost.*

Papias (*c.* 70-163) writes in a passage preserved by Eusebius:

'I shall not hesitate also to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have at any time learned carefully from the elders, and carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to the faith, and springing from the truth itself. If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders,—what Andrew, or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice.' [3]

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[1] *Vide* Eusebius, v. 24.
[2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 17.
[3] Eusebius, iii. 39.

Irenæus calls Papias 'a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp,'[1] and Jerome repeats this statement.[2] Eusebius in his *Chronicle*, Philip of Side, Georgius Hamartolus, Anastasius of Sinai, and several anonymous writers, all agree in connecting Papias with the apostle John as disciple, eye-witness, or cotemporary.[3] But Eusebius in his *Church History* remarks that Papias does not explicitly claim to be 'a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles,' and seems to distinguish from the apostle John a presbyter of the same name, who was more probably his own instructor.[4] Eusebius, however, in that very passage, calls Papias a 'cotemporary' of 'Philip the Apostle,' who 'resided in Hierapolis with his daughters,' and relates a tale heard by Papias from those prophetesses. Moreover Jerome, while making the discrimination between the apostle and the presbyter John, yet understands Papias to assert that he 'has the apostles as his authorities.'[5] In the letter already cited Jerome calls Irenæus 'a disciple of Papias, who was a hearer of John the Evangelist.'[6] It seems clear that Papias was commonly supposed to have stood to the apostle John in the relation of disciple, to Irenæus in the relation of master, and to Polycarp in the relation of companion. Fragments of his lost work have been preserved by other writers.

13. *The Epistle of Barnabas, written early in the second century, represents the Alexandrian methods of philosophy and exegesis, and carries on the tendencies of the Epistle to the Hebrews, only in less sober and less restrained conceptions.*

This epistle gives an idea of the kind of study that

[1] Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, v. xxxiii. 3, 4.
[2] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxv. 3.
[3] *Vide* Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 527 *seq.*
[4] Eusebius, iii. 39.
[5] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 18.
[6] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxv. 3.

was carried on in Alexandria at the beginning of the second century. Clement of Alexandria ascribes it to 'the apostle Barnabas,' and thinks it sufficient to 'adduce as a witness the apostolic Barnabas, and he was one of the Seventy, and a fellow-worker of Paul.'[1] Origen cites 'the catholic Epistle of Barnabas.'[2] Eusebius classes it in one place among the disputed books, in another among those rejected from the canon.[3] The identification of the author with the apostle Barnabas is now generally abandoned.

14. *The First Epistle of Clement of Rome is a fine specimen of Christian scholarship, worthy of ranking with the letters of Paul and Ignatius.*

Clement was a disciple of St. Paul and St. Peter. According to Irenæus, 'this man, as he had seen the blessed apostles, and had been conversant with them, might be said to have the preaching of the apostles still echoing [in his ears], and their traditions before his eyes. Nor was he alone [in this], for there were many still remaining who had received instructions from the apostles. In the time of this Clement, no small dissension having occurred among the brethren at Corinth, the Church in Rome despatched a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, exhorting them to peace, renewing their faith, and declaring the tradition which it had lately received from the apostles.'[4]

The letter itself contains this appeal:

'Let us come to those champions who lived nearest to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation.... Let us set before our eyes the good apostles, Peter and Paul.'[5]

This epistle contains a passage on love, which rises to the height of 1 Cor. xiii. In view of it one cannot

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, ii. 6, 20; cf. v. 10.
[2] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 63.
[3] Eusebius, iii. 25; vi. 14.
[4] Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, iii. 3, 3.
[5] Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.*, 5.

wonder that Clement of Alexandria calls the author 'the Apostle Clement.'[1] Origen describes him as 'a disciple of the apostles.'[2] Tertullian claims that he was ordained by St. Peter.[3] He was certainly familiar with St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, and he imitates that apostle; for, writing as the head of the Roman church to rebuke the church of Corinth, he uses no other authority than that of love. Eusebius writes:

'There is extant an epistle of this Clement, which is acknowledged to be genuine, and is of considerable length and of remarkable merit. . . . We know that this epistle has been publicly used in a great many churches, both in former times and in our own.'[4]

Again he says that this epistle 'is accepted by all,' that Hegesippus was acquainted with it, and that Dionysius of Corinth showed 'that it had been the custom from the beginning to read it in the church.'[5] Jerome states that in his day it was still 'publicly read' in some churches.[6] Clement is identified by Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and others with the Clement of Philippi mentioned by St. Paul in his letter to that church,[7] but the identification is dubious.[8] There is a tradition that this Clement was of one of the noblest families of Rome.

However this may be, his letter shows that he had a high degree of culture, both Greek and Christian. In Rome he might get, and judging from his epistle he did get, the best training of the times in the grammar and rhetorical schools, as well as direct apostolic training from St. Peter and St. Paul. The epistle is written (*c.* 96) in the name of the church of Rome, and contains

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, iv. 17.
[2] Origen, *De principiis*, ii. 3, 6.
[3] Tertullian, *De præscriptione hæreticorum*, 32.
[4] Eusebius, iii. 16.
[5] Eusebius, iii. 38; iv. 22, 23.
[6] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 15.
[7] Phil. iv. 3.
[8] *Vide* Salmon, 'Clemens Romanus,' in *Dict. Christ. Biography*.

no mention of Clement; yet from the earliest times it was unanimously recognised as his. This implies prominence in the Roman church, and leadership among its presbyters. The Roman canon of the mass still commemorates Linus, Cletus, Clemens, and some think that this commemoration dates from Clement's own time. He is classed among the Roman bishops, and is given the third place after the apostles by Irenæus, Eusebius, and 'Eastern chronologers generally'; the second place by the Liberian catalogue, Augustine, and most of the Latins.[1] Other writings have been wrongly ascribed to Clement: (1) the so-called Second Epistle, a homily whose authenticity was doubted by Eusebius, the first to mention it; and (2) the *Clementina*, which, as Eusebius says, 'do not even preserve the pure stamp of apostolic orthodoxy.'[2]

15. *Before the middle of the second century the great Christian prophet Hermas wrote his 'Shepherd.'*

Internal evidence makes it plain that Hermas was cultivated in Greek as well as in Christian scholarship. His *Shepherd* is ethical and prophetic in character. It is commonly divided into five *Visions*, twelve *Mandates*, and ten *Similitudes*. According to Lightfoot,

'The work is found in general circulation in the Eastern and Western Churches soon after the middle of the second century. About this time also it must have been translated into Latin. It is quoted by Irenæus in Gaul, by Tertullian in Africa, by Clement and Origen in Alexandria. All these fathers—even Tertullian, before he became a Montanist—either cite it as Scripture, or assign to it a special authority as in some sense inspired and quasi-canonical.'[3]

Origen calls the *Shepherd* 'a very useful scripture, and in my opinion divinely inspired.'[4] The Muratorian

[1] *Vide* Salmon, 'Clemens Romanus,' in *Dict. Christ. Biography.*
[2] Eusebius, iii. 38.
[3] Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 239.
[4] *Vide* Lightfoot, *ibid.*

Fragment describes it as 'written very recently in our times in the city of Rome by Hermas, while his brother, Bishop Pius, sat in the chair of the church of Rome. And therefore it also ought to be read; but it cannot be made public in the church to the people, nor placed among the prophets, as their number is complete, nor among the apostles to the end of time.'[1] Eusebius declares that the canonicity of the *Shepherd* 'has been disputed by some, and on their account (it) cannot be placed among the acknowledged books; while by others it is considered quite indispensable, especially to those who need instruction in the elements of the faith. Hence, as we know, it has been publicly read in churches, and I have found that some of the most ancient writers used it.'[2] Jerome testifies that in his day it was still 'read publicly in some churches of Greece,' and adds: 'It is in fact a useful book, and many of the ancient writers quote from it as an authority; but among the Latins it is almost unknown.'[3] The work itself represents Hermas as charged with a message to 'the rulers of the Church'; a book to be 'given to the presbyters,' of which he was to make two copies. He is told: 'Thou shalt send one to Clement, and one to Grapte. So Clement shall send to the foreign cities, for this is his duty; while Grapte shall instruct the widows and the orphans. But thou shalt read (the book) to this city along with the presbyters that preside over the church.'[4] Origen remarks that Hermas as 'the disciple of the Spirit' is charged with the message to 'the presbyters of the whole Church of God' (*i.e.* to the mature in wisdom), and told to give it 'not by letter, nor by book, but by the living voice.'[5]

[1] *Vide* McGiffert, *Eusebius' Church History*, p. 135, *n.* 23.
[2] Eusebius, iii. 3.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 10.
[4] Hermas, *The Shepherd*, Vis. ii. 2, 4.
[5] Origen, *De principiis*, iv. 1.

16. *The Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, has been well described as 'a church manual of primitive Christianity.'* [1] *It is from the early part of the second century, and contains a manual of morals for catechumens, and a manual of worship.*

The *Didache* probably came from Palestine, as it shows the influence of Palestinian methods of thought. The form of the work indicates that it was used for purposes of instruction. The core of the book, the *Two Ways*, was probably the earliest manual for catechumens. The manual of worship was for those who had been admitted to the Christian mystery of the Lord's Supper, and its essential nucleus is the Lord's Prayer, which has ever been attached to the Eucharist. The fatherhood of this prayer is the fatherhood of Christian experience, the fatherhood of God as the Father of Jesus Christ and of all that are Christ's. The prayer was regarded as belonging only to Christians, and so was taught after baptism to communicants. Clement of Alexandria quotes the *Didache* as Scripture. Athanasius says that it was used in his day for the instruction of catechumens.[2] Eusebius gives it among the works rejected from the canon.[3] It was taken up into several ancient writings, including the Epistle of Barnabas and the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

17. *The Apostles' Creed became stereotyped in form by the middle of the second century. It is an evidence of credal catechetical instruction in Rome and elsewhere, all over the Christian world, from the earliest times.*

The Apostles' Creed is based not only on the baptismal formula, but also on the Christian symbol of the *Fish*, which was the secret password of Christians from the

[1] Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 215; Schaff, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.
[2] Eusebius, iii. 25; *vide* McGiffert's edition, p. 156, *n.* 21.
[3] *Fest. Ep.*, 39.

early second century. All catechumens or candidates for baptism were taught this creed; and they were required to profess it, in order to baptism. Irenæus speaks of 'retaining unchangeable in the heart the rule of the truth received by means of baptism,' and claims that 'the catholic Church throughout the whole world possesses one and the same faith, . . . received from the apostles and their disciples.' [1] He testified as one who knew the immediate disciples of the apostles, and was intimately acquainted with the churches in Asia, Gaul, and Rome.[2]

18. *In the second half of the second century a series of apologists arose among the Christians.*

There is some difference of opinion as to whether the earliest apology is to be found in the anonymous *Epistle to Diognetus*, given by Lightfoot among the works of the Apostolic Fathers, or in the Apology of Quadratus, or in the recently discovered Apology of Aristides. These apologists use the methods of Greek logic and rhetoric, and the principles of philosophy, especially the Platonic, to justify and defend Christianity. Krüger [3] still maintains the early date of the *Epistle to Diognetus* (prior to 135 A.D.), Harnack dates the Apology of Quadratus 125-6, that of Aristides 138-161(-147), and puts the one addressed to Diognetus, at the earliest, toward the close of the century.[4]

The author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* writes:

'Having been a disciple of apostles, I come forward as a teacher of the Gentiles, ministering worthily to them . . . the lessons which have been handed down. For who that has been rightly taught, and has entered into friendship with the Word, does not seek to learn distinctly the lessons revealed openly by the Word to the disciples.' [5]

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[1] Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, I. ix. 4; x. 1, 3.
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 10 *seq.*
[3] Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 100.
[4] Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 720 *seq.* [5] *Epistle to Diognetus*, 11.

The Apology of Quadratus is extant only in the fragment quoted by Eusebius, who says :

'The work is still in the hands of a great many of the brethren, as also in our own, and furnishes clear proofs of the man's understanding and of his apostolic orthodoxy. He himself reveals the early date at which he lived in the following words : "But the works of our Saviour were always present, for they were genuine : those that were healed, and those that were raised from the dead, who were seen not only when they were healed, and when they were raised, but were also always present ; and not merely while the Saviour was on earth, but also after His death, they were alive for quite a while, so that some of them lived even to our day." '[1]

It is possible, though not certain, that this Quadratus is identical with the one mentioned by Eusebius as 'renowned along with the daughters of Philip for his prophetical gifts,' and who is classed among the Christian prophets in a work against the Montanists, which declares : 'Neither can they boast of Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or any others not belonging to them.'[2] Jerome calls Quadratus 'disciple of the apostles,' and praises his Apology as 'indispensable, full of sound argument and faith, and worthy of the apostolic teaching.'[3]

Aristides, according to Eusebius, 'a believer earnestly devoted to our religion, left, like Quadratus, an Apology for the faith, addressed to Hadrian. His work, too, has been preserved even to the present day by a great many persons.'[4] Jerome calls him 'a most eloquent Athenian philosopher, and a disciple of Christ, while yet retaining his philosopher's garb.' His Apology is 'regarded by philologians as a monument to his genius.'[5]

[1] Eusebius, iv. 3.
[2] Eusebius, iii. 37 ; v. 17.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 19.
[4] Eusebius, iv. 3.
[5] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 20.

19. *Taking the writings of this period together, we may say that the foundations of the chief theological disciplines were already laid.*

Kihn well says:

'In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* we have the short outline of a manual of religion, of a liturgy and church order, such as were worked out more circumstantially in the *Apostolic Constitutions*; in the Epistle of Clement of Rome the first sketches for the development of canon law, in the Epistle of Barnabas the beginnings of speculative dogmatic and of the allegorical method of Biblical exegesis, in the Epistle to Diognetus the outlines of an apologetic against non-Christians, in the Epistles of Ignatius the first traces of pastoral theology and of an apologetic against heretics, in the *Shepherd* of Hermas the first attempt towards a Christian ethic, in the martyr acts of Ignatius and Polycarp the first works relating to Church history.'[1]

20. *The greatest Christian teacher of the third quarter of the second century was Justin Martyr.*

Justin (*c.* 114-165) was born in Samaria, probably of Greek parentage, and was a studious man, showing familiarity with both Hebrew and Greek methods. He was converted to Christianity after passing through several schools of Greek philosophy. At Ephesus (*c.* 135) he was instructed in Christianity by men who had been trained by the apostles, and came into conflict with a Jew named Trypho, a conflict which he subsequently describes, enlarges and embellishes in his *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew.* This dialogue uses at the same time the methods of Greek philosophy, and Hebrew Rabbinical logic and methods of interpretation, to show that Jesus was the fulfilment of the Messianic ideals of the Old Testament, and that Christianity was the true philosophy. This work is equally valuable as an apologetic or vindication of Christianity against Judaism, and as an interpretation of the Messianic prophecy of the Old Testament.

[1] Kihn, *Encyklopädie der Theologie*, p. 44.

Justin retained as a Christian his philosopher's garb,[1] and in it preached and taught the Christian religion. He says of the aged Christian who was his first instructor :

'I have not seen him since. But straightway a flame was kindled in my soul ; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me ; and whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable. Thus, and for this reason, I am a philosopher.'

Again he writes :

'I myself, when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure. . . . For no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for (his) doctrine ; but in Christ, who was partially known even by Socrates (for He was, and is, the Word who is in every man . . .), not only philosophers and scholars believed, but also artisans and people entirely uneducated, despising both glory, and fear, and death. . . . I myself, when I discovered the wicked disguise which the evil spirits had thrown around the divine doctrines of the Christians, . . . laughed both at those who framed these falsehoods, and at the disguise itself, and at popular opinion ; and I confess that I both boast and with all my strength strive to be found a Christian.' [2]

Justin seems to have visited many regions. In the words of Gildersleeve, 'his knowledge of the Christian religion is drawn from immediate contact with the Christian life, not at this point and that, but over a wide range of travel ; and his description of Christian worship is of priceless value, for the worship he describes was the worship of the Church Universal.' [3] Finally he came to Rome (*c.* 141-142) and remained there as the chief teacher of the Christian religion until his martyrdom. During this period he came into conflict with the

[1] Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, i. ; Eusebius, iv. 11.
[2] Justin, *Apology*, ii. 10, 12, 13.
[3] Gildersleeve, *The Apologies of Justin Martyr*, p. xiii., in the *Douglass Series of Christian Greek and Latin Writers*, v.

Gnostics, and especially with Marcion, who established in Rome an heretical society (*c.* 144). Justin had also to vindicate Christianity in the Roman schools against the heathen philosophers. It was at this period that he wrote his *Dialogue with Trypho* (*c.* 155-160) and his two Apologies. The larger Apology (*c.* 150-153) was addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. It is a model of Christian apologetic by a true Christian philosopher, according to whom 'the footsteps of the Logos are to be traced throughout the ages, faintly luminous among the Greeks, brighter among the Hebrews, shining with full effulgence only at the advent of our Saviour.' [1]

Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, seems to have been Justin's chief opponent; and to his plottings Justin's martyrdom is attributed by Eusebius.[2] In all probability Justin met the martyr Polycarp, who visited Rome *c.* 154-155, and also Hegesippus, who was in Rome about the year 150. Eusebius ascribes to Justin many works which have been lost, and tradition many which are no longer regarded as his. Eusebius sought to 'stimulate the studious to peruse with diligence' the works of one whose 'discourses were thought worthy of study even by the ancients,' as 'monuments of a mind educated and practised in divine things,' one who was 'a genuine lover of the true philosophy,' who 'busied himself with Greek literature,' and 'in his writings contended for the faith.' [3] His pupil, Tatian, calls him 'the most admirable Justin'; [4] Methodius, 'a man not far removed either from the times or from the virtues of the apostles.' [5] Jerome testifies that 'in behalf of the religion of Christ (he) laboured strenuously . . . insomuch that he did not shun the ignominy of the cross.' [6]

[1] Gildersleeve, p. xl.
[2] Eusebius, iv. 16; Justin, *Apology*, ii. 3.
[3] Eusebius, iv. 8, 11, 18.
[4] Tatian, *Oratio ad Græcos*, 18.
[5] Methodius, *Discourse on the Resurrection*, vi.; *vide* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 234.
[6] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 23.

21. *Tatian was a pupil of Justin at Rome, and he also wrote an Apology. His Diatessaron became the official Gospel of the Syrian churches.*

Tatian says in his *Oration to the Greeks*:

'I was born in the land of the Assyrians, having been first instructed in your doctrines, and afterwards in those which I now undertake to proclaim. . . . I have visited many lands; I have followed rhetoric, like yourselves; I have fallen in with many arts and inventions; and finally, when sojourning in the city of the Romans, I inspected the multiplicity of statues brought thither by you. . . . Wherefore having seen these things, and moreover also having been admitted to the mysteries, and having everywhere examined the religious rites . . . retiring by myself, I sought how I might be able to discover the truth. And, while I was giving my most earnest attention to the matter, I happened to meet with certain barbaric writings, too old to be compared with the opinions of the Greeks, and too divine to be compared with their errors; and I was led to put faith in these by the unpretending cast of the language, the inartificial character of the writers, the foreknowledge displayed of future events, the excellent quality of the precepts, and the declaration of the government of the universe as centred in one Being. And my soul being taught of God, I discerned that the former class of writings lead to condemnation, but that these put an end to the slavery that is in the world, . . . while they give us, not indeed what we had not before received, but what we had received but were prevented by error from retaining.'[1]

This Apology of Tatian was written soon after that of Justin (*c.* 153), and deals with the Old Testament in a similar way, but with an attitude hostile toward Greek philosophy. According to Eusebius, Tatian left 'a great many writings,' but this one 'appears to be the best and most useful of all.'[2] The enmity of Crescens toward Justin was extended to Tatian;[3] yet after Justin's death his pupil taught in Rome, and Rhodo claims to have studied with him there.[4] Some years later, however (*c.* 172), Tatian went into eastern Syria, where he

[1] Tatian, *Oratio ad Græcos*, xxix., xxxv., xlii.
[2] Eusebius, iv. 29.
[3] Tatian, xix.
[4] Eusebius, v. 13.

seems to have departed from strict orthodoxy. Irenæus says that 'as long as he continued with (Justin), he expressed no such views; but after his martyrdom he separated from the Church, and, excited and puffed up by the thought of being a teacher, . . . he composed his own peculiar type of doctrine.' [1]

Jerome states that 'while teaching oratory (Tatian) won not a little glory in the rhetorical art, . . . and was distinguished so long as he did not leave his master's side.' [2] His most important work was his *Diatessaron* (*c.* 160-172), a consolidation of the four Gospels into one continuous narrative, which was used as the official Gospel in the Syrian churches for several centuries.

22. *Hegesippus, a Hebrew Christian, wrote five books of Memoirs* (*c.* 175-189), *which have been lost, except for fragments. This work gained for him the title of the Father of Church History.*

Hegesippus gathers the materials for Church history, rather than writes one. However, his Memoirs would be invaluable for historical purposes if we possessed them. About the year 150 he made a journey to Rome by way of Corinth, of which he writes:

'I spent several days with the Corinthians, during which we were mutually refreshed by the orthodox faith. On my arrival at Rome, I drew up a list of the succession [of bishops] down to Anicetus. . . . But in the case of every succession, and in every city, that is held which is preached by the Law, and the Prophets, and the Lord.'

According to Eusebius, he met on this journey 'a great many bishops, and . . . received the same doctrine from all.' [3]

23. *Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, was converted to Christianity, and wrote an Apology, which he*

[1] Irenæus, *ibid.*, i. 28.
[2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 29.
[3] Eusebius, iv. 22.

presented to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (c. 177), *and also a dogmatic monograph on the Resurrection.*

The style of Athenagoras shows that he was well trained in the rhetorical and philosophical schools of Athens. According to Philip of Side, Athenagoras

'embraced Christianity while wearing the garb of a philosopher, and presiding over the academic school. He, before Celsus, was bent on writing against the Christians; and, studying the divine Scriptures in order to carry on the contest with the greater accuracy, was thus himself caught by the all-holy Spirit; so that, like the great Paul, from a persecutor he became a teacher of the faith which he persecuted.'[1]

This statement is quite credible; but there is obvious error in that which makes Athenagoras 'the first head of the (catechetical) school at Alexandria,' 'Clement his pupil, and Pantænus the pupil of Clement.'[2] The connection of Athenagoras with Alexandria and its school is therefore dubious.

A contemporary of Athenagoras was Dionysius, the famous bishop of Corinth, who wrote many letters both to churches and to individuals, none of which have been preserved except in fragments. These, however, show him to have been an able and scholarly man. Eusebius says that he 'communicated freely of his inspired labours, not only to his own people, but also to those in foreign lands, and rendered the greatest service to all in the catholic epistles which he wrote to the churches.'[3] Jerome ascribes to him 'great eloquence and industry.'[4]

24. *Theophilus, the sixth bishop of Antioch, was eminent as a Christian teacher.*

Theophilus wrote in the last quarter of the second

[1] *Vide* Dodwell, *Dissert. in Irenæum*, 429.
[2] *Vide* Mansel, 'Athenagoras,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*
[3] Eusebius, iv. 23.
[4] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 27.

century many important works, apologetical, exegetical, doctrinal, polemical, and catechetical. His Apology addressed to Autolycus (*c.* 182-190) is the most important of the works that have been preserved. Theophilus was a learned man, and had been trained in the rhetorical and philosophical schools, although he exalted the Old Testament above Greek philosophy. Jerome praises the 'elegance and expressiveness' of his writing.[1]

25. *Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris of Hierapolis were apologists from Asia Minor, who carried on the Christian education and the study of theology in that region.*

Melito wrote during the last half of the century, and produced, besides his Apology, a large number of monographs on doctrinal, exegetical, and practical subjects, only fragments of which have been preserved. Jerome admires his 'fine oratorical genius.'[2] Eusebius quotes Polycrates as calling Melito 'the eunuch who lived altogether in the Holy Spirit.'[3]

Apollinaris wrote chiefly apologetic and controversial works of uncertain date, though from about the same time, all of which have been lost. Both of these writers opposed Montanism, and both, according to Eusebius, 'enjoyed great distinction.'[4]

26. *The greatest of all the Christian writers and scholars of the second century was Irenæus of Gaul.*

Irenæus († after 200) was born and trained in Asia Minor, and was acquainted in his youth with Polycarp and with other elders who had heard the apostles, and thus belonged to the third generation from the apostles, whose teachings he claims to have handed down correctly. He also claims to be in union and harmony with

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 26.
[2] Jerome, *ibid.*, 24.
[3] Eusebius, v. 24.
[4] Eusebius, iv. 26.

the Church of Rome and the Catholic Church throughout the world. He writes :

'The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith, . . . [and] as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points, just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. For, although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same. For the churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the world. . . . Nor will any one of the rulers in the churches, however highly gifted he may be in point of eloquence, teach doctrines different from these (for no one is greater than the Master); nor, on the other hand, will he who is deficient in power of expression inflict injury on the tradition. For the faith being ever one and the same, neither does one who is able at great length to discourse regarding it, make any addition to it, nor does one, who can say but little, diminish it. . . . The Catholic Church possesses one and the same faith throughout the whole world.' [1]

Again he declares :

'We have learned from none others the plan of salvation, than from those through whom the gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and at a later period . . . handed down to us in the Writings, to be the ground and pillar of our faith. . . . It is within the power of all, in every church, . . . to contemplate clearly the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the whole world ; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the churches, and the successions of these men to our own times.' [2]

Irenæus claims to have received instruction not only from Polycarp, but also from those whom he calls 'the elders,' [3] pupils of the apostles or their disciples. In one

[1] Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, i. 10.
[2] Irenæus, iii. 1 *seq.*
[3] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 553 *seq.*

place he appeals to the witness of 'all the elders, who in Asia conferred with John, the Lord's disciple. . . . And some of them saw not only John, but others also of the apostles.' [1] Again he declares that the apocalyptic vision of the Book of Revelation 'was seen no very long time since, but almost in our day.' [2] At the time of the great persecution at Lyons (*c.* 177) Irenæus was a presbyter in that church, and was sent to Rome as its representative with a letter, in which he is commended as 'brother and comrade' and as 'zealous for the covenant of Christ.' [3] It is possible that he had been in Rome before, at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom, as tradition asserts; [4] but it is certain that on this visit he became well acquainted with the Roman Church. He was thus familiar with the churches of the East and of the West as well as with the Church of Rome, the capital city of the Christian religion. He therefore spoke of what he knew when he wrote:

'The path of those belonging to the Church circumscribes the whole world, as possessing the sure tradition from the apostles, and gives unto us to see that the faith of all is one and the same.' [5]

Shortly after his return to Lyons he was made bishop of that church. His great work was written *Against Heresies* (*c.* 181-189). His other writings are, with one exception, preserved only in fragments. He shows an extensive knowledge of a great number of heresies in all their details, and gives a masterly refutation of them. In his preface he says:

'Thou wilt not expect from me, who am resident among the Keltæ, and am accustomed for the most part to use a barbarous dialect, any display of rhetoric, which I have never learned, or any excellence of composition, which I have never practised, or

[1] Irenæus, ii. 22. [2] Irenæus, v. 30. [3] Eusebius, v. 4.
[4] *Vide* Zahn, 'Irenæus,' in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*
[5] Irenæus, v. 20.

any beauty and persuasiveness of style, to which I make no pretensions. But thou wilt accept in a kindly spirit what I in a like spirit write to thee, simply, truthfully, and in my own homely way.' [1]

Upon the man who thus writes, the theology of the period was chiefly built. He also laboured on behalf of the unity of the Church in the paschal controversy, conferring with most of 'the rulers of the churches,' and sending a letter of admonition to Victor, the Bishop of Rome. He warned Victor against cutting off from communion with the Roman Church those churches which, in differing from Rome, were yet 'following the tradition of an ancient custom,' saying :

'This variety in observance has not originated in our time; but long before in that of our predecessors. . . . Yet all of these lived together none the less in peace; and we also live in peace with one another; and the disagreement in regard to the fast confirms the agreement in the faith.' [2]

Victor yielded to his persuasion, and Irenæus thus became in fact, what he was in name, a peacemaker.

27. *Thus far the bishops and presbyters and other Christian teachers received their general training in the Greek and Roman schools of various grades, but their Christian education in the bishop's catechetical school, and instruction in the Christian mysteries after baptism. They then learned in the public worship of the Church, through the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and the use of the sacred institutions of the Church. Those who were candidates for the Christian ministry received private instruction, both theoretical and practical, from the bishop and other Christian teachers authorised by him.*

Those students who were to enter the ministry were trained by the bishops, chiefly in their own homes, in

[1] Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, Pref. 2, 3. [2] Eusebius, v. 24.

practical preparation for the work. Just as Jesus trained the Twelve, and the apostles Peter and Paul their converts, so did their successors train the Christian ministers who were to help them and follow them, educating them as their assistants, and occasionally sending them forth on missions.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES IN THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA AND ITS DEPENDENTS

1. *The school of Alexandria was founded, so far as we are able to determine, by Pantœnus, near the close of the second Christian century.*

Pantœnus († *c.* 200), a Stoic philosopher and a teacher of rhetoric, after his conversion to Christianity organised in Alexandria a Christian school, of which he became the head. It is commonly supposed that this 'school of the faithful' was the ancient catechetical school. If so, it was transformed by Pantænus. Eusebius[1] describes him as 'a man highly distinguished for his learning'; Jerome as of 'great prudence and erudition both in the Scriptures and in secular literature.'[2] They agree in saying that he was sent on a mission to India. According to Eusebius,

'He displayed such zeal for the Divine Word, that he was appointed as a herald of the Gospel of Christ to the nations in the East, and was sent as far as India. For indeed there were still many evangelists of the Word, who sought earnestly to use their inspired zeal, after the examples of the apostles, for the increase and building up of the Divine Word. Pantænus was one of these.'

It is not clear when this mission took place, but it seems most probable that it preceded his activity in the

[1] Eusebius, *Church History*, v. 10. [2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 36.

school. Eusebius tells of it after making his general statement respecting the work of Pantænus in the school, but he closes his account with the words : 'After many good deeds Pantænus finally became the head of the school at Alexandria, and expounded the treasures of divine doctrine both orally and in writing.' Jerome ascribes to him 'commentaries on Holy Scripture,' many of which were extant at the time ; but adds that his 'living voice was of still greater benefit to the churches.'

2. *The school at Alexandria seems to have been a kind of rhetorical school in which Christian rhetoric and Christian philosophy were taught by Pantænus.*

Prior to this the Christians of Alexandria were trained in Christianity by the bishop, presbyters, and deacons through private instruction and catechetical lectures. Christians who desired a higher education had been obliged to seek it in the public rhetorical school and the university. Now an opportunity was given for Christian education in rhetoric and philosophy.

It was the merit of Pantænus that Clement and Origen were trained by him in his school, and doubtless many other scholars of lesser rank. In all probability the rhetorical and philosophical principles of Clement and Origen, based as they are upon Philo's methods, were derived from Pantænus. Origen justifies his study of Greek literature and philosophy by appealing to the example of Pantænus, 'who benefited many . . . by his thorough preparation in such things.' [1]

3. *After the death of Pantænus, Clement became the head of the school. He had previously studied with many teachers in different countries, but finally came to Alexandria and Pantænus.*

[1] Eusebius, vi. 19.

Clement († *c.* 215) was probably born in Athens, where he received his early training. He was of an inquiring mind, and went about from country to country in search of truth and learning. His first Christian teacher was an Ionian, presumably from Ephesus or Smyrna; the second a Syrian, probably from Antioch; the third an Egyptian, doubtless of Alexandria; the fourth an Assyrian, probably Tatian; the fifth a Palestinian Jewish Christian, of Jerusalem or Cæsarea. Pantænus was the last and the most influential, 'a Sicilian bee among the flowers of the apostolic meadow.' [1] These 'blessed and truly remarkable men,' whose 'powerful and animated words it was (Clement's) privilege to hear,' he describes as 'preserving the true tradition of the blessed doctrine, directly from the holy apostles, Peter and James and John and Paul, the son receiving it from the father.' Clement shows by his writings that he had a very extensive knowledge of classic Greek as well as Christian literature. In his *Stromata* he gives 'specimens of very various learning.' [2] Jerome describes him as 'the author of notable volumes, full of eloquence and learning, both in Sacred Scripture and in secular literature.' [3] He was ordained a presbyter, and became the assistant of Pantænus in the school, and after his death his successor. In 203 Clement fled from persecution to Cappadocia, where he influenced Alexander, a former pupil, then bishop in Cæsarea.[4] The last notice that we have of Clement occurs in a letter which Alexander sent by him to the Church of Antioch, in which he writes:

'I have sent this letter to you by Clement, the blessed presbyter. . . . Being here, in the providence and oversight of the

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[1] Clement, *Stromata*, i. 1.
[2] Eusebius, vi. 13.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 38.
[4] So Harnack, *Missionsgeschichte*, pp. 460, 469.

Master, he has strengthened and built up the Church of the Lord.' [1]

4. *Clement regards philosophy as a pedagogue leading to Christ, and uses it as a constructive principle of theology. His philosophy is eclectic, and influenced especially by Philo.*

Clement writes:

'Before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. And now it becomes conducive to piety; being a kind of preparatory training to those who attain to faith through demonstration. . . . For God is the cause of all good things; but of some primarily, as of the Old and the New Testament; and of others by consequence, as philosophy. Perchance, philosophy also was given to the Greeks directly and primarily, till the Lord should call the Greeks: for it was "a schoolmaster to bring to Christ" "the Hellenic mind," as the law the Hebrews. Philosophy, therefore, was a preparation, paving the way for him who in Christ is perfected.' [2]

Clement gives three stages of education: (1) that leading to Christian baptism; (2) the moral discipline; and (3) the highest, the discipline of Gnosis, or Wisdom. His great work is the development of this ideal in a trilogy: (1) *Protrepticus*, Exhortation, the introduction to divine truth, addressed to the unconverted; (2) *Pædagogus*, instruction in Christian morals, addressed to the new Christian; (3) *Stromata*, Patchwork, training in divine Wisdom or Gnosis, for the mature Christian. Clement shows by his writings familiarity with the apocryphal books of Wisdom, the Ecclesiasticus of Ben Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, as well as with the writings of Philo. He regards the philosophy of the Greeks as based on the Law of Moses, both alike being derived from the Logos, or divine Wisdom. He was the first systematic theologian in the East, as Irenæus was in the West.

[1] Eusebius, vi. 11.

[2] Clement, *Stromata*, i. 5.

5. *Clement was also an interpreter of the Scriptures, and uses the allegorical method of Philo, tempered by Greek methods of interpretation.*

He distinguishes between the body and the soul of Scripture, and gives a fourfold use of it: (1) 'the way in which we instruct plain people, who receive the word superficially'; (2) the instruction of those who have studied philosophy, 'cutting through' the Greek dogmas and 'opening up' the Hebrew Scriptures; (3) the overcoming of 'rustics and heretics who are brought by force to the truth'; (4) 'the gnostic teaching, which is capable of looking into things themselves.'[1] He well says:

'The truth is not to be found by changing the meanings . . . but in the consideration of what perfectly belongs to and becomes the sovereign God, and in establishing each one of the points demonstrated in the Scriptures from similar Scriptures.'[2]

His great commentary, *Hypotyposes*, on selected passages of Scripture, has not been preserved except in a few fragments.

6. *Clement was succeeded at Alexandria by Origen, the greatest scholar of the ancient Church, who remained as head of the school from* 204 *to* 232.

Origen (*c.* 185-254) was trained by his father, an Egyptian Christian, 'in the Divine Scriptures' and 'the sciences of the Greeks,'[3] and by Pantænus and Clement in sacred learning. When he was about seventeen years of age his father suffered martyrdom. In the following year, after the flight of Clement, he was made by the bishop, Demetrius, master of the school. Nearly ten years later, under the influence of Heraclas, his friend and pupil, he began to attend lectures at the Museum, especially in philosophy under the celebrated Ammonius

[1] Clement, *Stromata*, vi. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, vii. 16.
[3] Eusebius, vi. 2.

Saccas, who was probably the father of Neo-Platonism. Ammonius seems to have begun as an eclectic philosopher, seeking to reconcile and harmonise Plato and Aristotle. Porphyry ascribes to him 'the greatest proficiency in philosophy of any in our day.'[1] But Origen had not the same interest in philosophy as Clement. His greatest work was not in theological or philosophical doctrine and speculation, but in the textual criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures. Wide as was the scope of instruction in the school of Alexandria, its chief interest was in Biblical study and methods of work. Eusebius writes:

> Many, 'drawn by the fame of Origen's learning, which resounded everywhere, came to him to make trial of his skill in Sacred Literature. And a great many heretics, and not a few of the most distinguished philosophers, studied under him diligently, receiving instruction from him not only in divine things, but also in secular philosophy, . . . so that he became celebrated as a great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves. And he instructed many of the less learned in the common school branches, saying that these would be no small help to them in the study and understanding of the Divine Scriptures. On this account he considered it especially necessary for himself to be skilled in secular and philosophic learning.'[2]

He remained at the head of the school in Alexandria until 232, assisted in later years by Heraclas, who became his successor. About the year 213 he visited Rome, where he made the acquaintance of Pope Zephyrinus and of Hippolytus. Several years later he was driven from Alexandria by political disturbances, and sought refuge in Palestine. In the course of his journey he preached in Jerusalem and Cæsarea by invitation of the bishops. This displeased his own bishop, for he was still a layman, and led to his recall. In 230 he was sent to Greece, and again visited Cæsarea. While there he accepted ordination as a presbyter.

[1] Eusebius, vi. 19. [2] Eusebius, vi. 18.

This was contrary to good order, and was resented by his bishop, who refused to recognise the ordination as valid. At two synods convoked by him, Origen was degraded, and removed from the headship of the school of Alexandria. He accordingly withdrew to Cæsarea, where he established a school over which he presided until his death.

7. *Origen became head of the school of Cæsarea, where he remained for twenty-two years until his martyrdom in* 254. *Here his usefulness was still greater than at Alexandria, and he had many distinguished pupils.*

At Cæsarea also Origen had many noted men among his pupils, such as Gregory Thaumaturgus and the three bishops, Alexander, Theoctistus, and Firmilian; and his influence extended over the whole Christian world. His conduct in the matter of his castration was questioned by some, but defended by others. His ordination was irregular, but maintained by the bishops of Palestine. His doctrines were questioned, but never in his own age officially condemned by the Church.[1] Gregory Thaumaturgus tells us in his *Panegyric* (*c.* 239) that Origen taught dialectics, physics, geometry, astronomy, ethics, metaphysics, and theology; that is, the liberal arts, philosophy and theology. Grammar he gave over at Alexandria to Heraclas; but Jerome includes it with rhetoric, arithmetic, and music, among the arts in which was shown 'his immortal genius.'

'He taught all the schools of philosophers in such wise that he had also diligent students in secular literature, and lectured to them daily; and the crowds which flocked to him were marvellous. These he received in the hope that through the instrumentality of this secular literature he might establish them in the faith of Christ.'[2]

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[1] *Vide* Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, i. pp. 356 *seq.*
[2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 54.

Gregory has left a remarkable description of Origen as a teacher, in which he says :

'He took us in hand, as a skilled husbandman may take in hand some field untilled, . . . and surveying us, as it were, with a husbandman's skill, and gauging us thoroughly, . . . he put us to the question, and made propositions to us, and listened to our replies ; . . . sometimes assailing us in the genuine Socratic fashion, and again upsetting us by his argumentation, whenever he saw us getting restive under him, like so many unbroken steeds. . . . He was the first and only man that urged me to study the philosophy of the Greeks, and persuaded me by his own moral example both to hear and to hold by the doctrine of morals. . . . I shall not speak of him as a perfect pattern, but as one who vehemently desires to imitate the perfect pattern, and strives after it with zeal and earnestness, even beyond the capacity of men. . . . He deemed it right . . . that we should read with utmost diligence all that has been written both by the philosophers and by the poets of old, rejecting nothing, and repudiating nothing, . . . except only the productions of the atheists. . . . He did not introduce us to any one exclusive school of philosophy ; nor did he judge it proper for us to go away with any single class of philosophical opinions, but he introduced us to all, and determined that we should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine. And he himself went on with us, preparing the way before us, and leading us by the hand, as on a journey, whenever anything tortuous and unsound and delusive came in our way. And he helped us like a skilled expert who has had long familiarity with such subjects, and is not strange or inexperienced in anything of the kind, and who therefore may remain safe in his own altitude, while he stretches forth his hand to others, and effects their security too, as one drawing up the submerged. Thus did he deal with us, selecting and setting before us all that was useful and true in all the various philosophers, and putting aside all that was false. . . . He alone of all men of the present time with whom I have myself been acquainted, or of whom I have heard by the report of others, has so deeply studied the clear and luminous oracles of God as to be able at once to receive their meaning into his own mind, and to convey it to others. For that Leader of all men, who inspires God's dear prophets, . . . has honoured this man as He would a friend, and has constituted him an expositor of these same oracles : and things of which He only gave a hint by others, He made matters of full instruction by this man's instrumentality ;

and in things which He, who is worthy of all trust, either enjoined in regal fashion, or simply enunciated, He imparted to this man the gift of investigating and unfolding and explaining them: so that, if there chanced to be any one of obtuse and incredulous mind, or one again thirsting for instruction, he might learn from this man, and in some manner be constrained to understand and to decide for belief, and to follow God. These things, moreover, as I judge, he gives forth only and truly by participation in the divine Spirit: for there is need of the same power for those who prophesy and for those who hear the prophets. . . . Now that greatest gift this man has received from God, . . . that he should be an interpreter of the oracles of God to men, and that he might understand the words of God, even as if God spake them to him. . . . Therefore to us there was no forbidden subject of speech, for to us there was no matter of knowledge hidden or inaccessible; but we had it in our power to learn every kind of discourse, both barbarian and Greek, both spiritual and political, both divine and human; and we were permitted with all freedom to go round the whole circle of knowledge.'[1]

8. *Origen was the greatest Biblical scholar in the ancient Church, and his works were of fundamental importance in textual criticism and Biblical interpretation.*

He was not only a Greek scholar, but he learned Hebrew, and advised with the Jewish patriarch of Alexandria, Huillus, on difficult matters relating to the Hebrew text and language. According to Eusebius,

'He procured as his own the original Hebrew Scriptures, which were in the hands of the Jews. He investigated also the works of other translators of the Sacred Scriptures besides the Seventy. And in addition to the well-known translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, he discovered certain others, which had been concealed from remote times—in what out-of-the-way corners I know not—and by his search he brought them to light.'[2]

Jerome asks:

'Who is there, who does not know that he was so assiduous in the study of the Holy Scriptures, that, contrary to the spirit of his time and of his people, he learned the Hebrew language?'[3]

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[1] Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyric on Origen*, 7-15.
[2] Eusebius, vi. 16.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 54.

Origen's greatest work was in textual criticism. He compiled the *Hexapla*, or Sixfold Old Testament, giving in six parallel columns: (1) the Hebrew text, (2) the Hebrew text transliterated in Greek characters, (3) the Greek version of Aquila, (4) the text of Symmachus, (5) the Septuagint, (6) the Theodotion text. He also prepared an abbreviated edition, the *Tetrapla*, by omitting the Hebrew texts (1) and (2). The fifth column was issued separately as the Septuagint text for Palestine and adjacent parts. In these texts he used the same signs as did the Alexandrian editors of the text of Homer: the *obelus*, with which he indicated additions to the original, and the *asterisk*, which he used for omissions. The textual work of Origen in his *Hexapla* is more comprehensive than any that has been undertaken since.[1]

Origen also issued an immense number of expositions of Scripture: (*a*) *scholia*, brief notes such as the Greek grammarians used, written chiefly in Alexandria; (*b*) *homilies*, sermons on texts, written in Cæsarea; (*c*) *commentaries*, written partly in Alexandria and partly in Cæsarea. In his commentaries he carries out his principles of interpretation. He distinguishes a threefold sense, as body, soul, and spirit: (1) the literal sense, (2) the moral sense, (3) the spiritual sense. He exalted the last, and so became the father of the allegorical method for the Church. The rules of Philo he uses freely. To Philo and his school the inner sense attained by allegory was the real sense designed by God. Underlying the allegorical method is the truth that human language is inadequate to convey to man the thoughts of God. At the best it can only be a sign and external representation. The defect of this method lies in the tendency to extend it beyond its legitimate bounds to all passages and every word, especially as a

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 192 *seq.*

means of escape from difficulties of philosophy and theology, or of support for peculiar religious views.[1]

Jerome says of Origen's commentaries :

'In this part of his work he gives all the sails of his genius to the breathing winds ; and, drawing off from the land, he sails away into mid-ocean.' [2]

Again Jerome writes :

'I will only say this about (Origen), that I should gladly have his knowledge of the Scriptures, even if accompanied with all the ill-will which clings to his name.' [3]

2. *Origen was the first great systematic theologian of the Church. His work on Christian Principles was written in Alexandria. In Cæsarea he wrote the polemic against Celsus.*

Origen's work *On First Principles* was written *c.* 218-230. Preuschen says that it is 'noteworthy as the first endeavour to present Christianity as a complete theory of the universe.' [4] Duchesne considers its methods admirable.[5] Origen's work *Against Celsus* was written *c.* 246-8, when he was over sixty years of age.

Jerome agrees with Didymus—indeed, with 'all but the ignorant'—in regarding Origen as 'the greatest teacher of the churches next to the apostles.' 'The labours of this one man have surpassed those of all previous writers, both Greek and Latin.' [6] Jerome's own absorption in Biblical studies helps to account for this estimate, as also for his refusal to be called an Origenist when the doctrines of Origen were in question. Accused of praising him, Jerome writes :

1 *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 435, 449.
2 *Vide* Rufinus, *Apology*, ii., citing Jerome's *Preface to Commentaries of Origen on Ezekiel.*
3 Rufinus, *ibid.*, citing Jerome's *Preface to Book on Hebrew Questions.*
4 Preuschen, 'Origen,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*
5 Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, i. p. 356.
6 *Vide* Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 13, 16, 20.

'In these passages do the dogmas of the Church come into question? . . . I have merely praised the simplicity of his rendering and commentary, and neither the faith nor the dogmas of the Church come in at all. Ethics only are dealt with, and the mist of allegory is dispelled by a clear explanation. I have praised the commentator, but not the theologian; the man of intellect, but not the believer; the philosopher, but not the apostle. . . . Does any one wish to praise Origen? Let him praise him as I do. From his childhood he was a great man, and truly a martyr's son. At Alexandria he presided over the school of the church, succeeding a man of great learning, the presbyter Clement. . . . The Scriptures he knew by heart, and laboured day and night to explain their meaning. He delivered in church more than a thousand sermons, and published innumerable commentaries. . . . Which of us can read all that he has written? And who can fail to admire his enthusiasm for the Scriptures? If some one in the spirit of Judas the Zealot brings up to me his mistakes, he shall have his answer in the words of Horace:

> "'Tis true that sometimes Homer sleeps, but then
> He's not without excuse:
> The fault is venial, for his work is long."

Let us not imitate the faults of one whose virtues we cannot equal.'[1]

10. *The heads of the Alexandrian school after Origen were Heraclas, Dionysius, Theognostus, Pierius, and Peter, none of whom, however, rose to the height of the three earlier teachers in ability or learning.*

1. *Heraclas* († 247-8) was a fellow-student of Origen in the university under the philosopher Ammonius. Origen says:

'I found him with the teacher of philosophic learning, with whom he had already continued five years before I began to hear lectures on those subjects. And though he had formerly worn the common dress, he laid it aside, and assumed and still wears the philosopher's garment; and he continues the earnest investigation of Greek works,' although 'a member of the presbytery of Alexandria.'[2]

Heraclas became a pupil of Origen in the catechetical

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* 84.

[2] *Vide* Eusebius vi. 19.

school, then an assistant, and at last his successor. According to Eusebius, when Origen

'saw that he had not time for the deeper study of divine things, and for the investigation and interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, and also for the instruction of those who came to him,—for coming, one after another, from morning till evening to be taught by him, they scarcely gave him time to breathe,—he divided the multitude. And from those whom he knew well he selected Heraclas, who was a zealous student of divine things, and in other respects a very learned man, not ignorant of philosophy, and made him his associate in the work of instruction. He entrusted to him the elementary training of beginners, but reserved for himself the teaching of those who were farther advanced.' [1]

Not long after the expulsion of Origen from the school, Heraclas was called by the death of Demetrius to the bishop's seat (231-2), which he filled for over fifteen years. He had great fame both for philosophic studies and for Greek learning, and while in the school attracted to himself and to Alexandria Julius Africanus, one of the greatest scholars of the age.[2]

2. *Dionysius* († *c.* 265) succeeded Heraclas as chief of the school (*c.* 232), and then as bishop (*c.* 247); and during his episcopate he continued to preside in the school, at least for a time. He came of a wealthy Alexandrian family, and was a pupil of Origen and Heraclas. A man of great intellectual and executive ability, he was the first bishop of Alexandria to attain world-wide influence. He raised the see to a position second only to that of Rome. He maintained the Biblical and philosophical character of the school; but his literary activity was chiefly in letters to the principal sees of the Christian world, discussing and combating the heresies and schisms of his time: Millenarianism, Novatianism, Modalistic Sabellianism, and the Dynamic Monarchianism of Paul of Samosata.

[1] Eusebius, vi. 15.

[2] *Vide* p. 102.

3. *Theognostus* and *Pierius* became heads of the school after Dionysius, but the order and dates of their succession are uncertain. Whether Dionysius retained the presidency during his entire episcopate is doubtful. In any case Theognostus seems to have served for a time as his assistant, and certainly became the head of the school after his death (*c.* 265), if not before.

Pierius († 309) appears to have been a teacher in the school for the greater part of thirty years, and its chief for a portion of that time. He was a presbyter, and according to Jerome,

'He taught the people with great success, and attained such elegance of language, and published so many treatises on all sorts of subjects, . . . that he was called Origen Junior. He was remarkable for his self-discipline, devoted to voluntary poverty, and thoroughly acquainted with the dialectic art. After the persecution he passed the rest of his life at Rome.' [1]

Eusebius classed Pierius among the 'rarest of men,' as 'distinguished for his life of extreme poverty and his philosophic learning,' and as 'exceedingly diligent in the contemplation and exposition of divine things, and in public discourses in the church.' [2]

It is possible that *Achillas*, the successor of Peter in the episcopal chair, was head of the school for a part of this time.[3] Eusebius states that he was appointed presbyter in Alexandria at the same time with Pierius, and became celebrated. 'He was placed over the school of the sacred faith, and exhibited fruits of philosophy most rare and inferior to none, and conduct genuinely evangelical.' [4] Athanasius refers to him as 'the great Achillas.' [5]

These teachers maintained the Biblical character of the school, but were not men of eminent ability.

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 76. [2] Eusebius, vii. 32.
[3] *Vide* Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 66 *seq.*; Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, i. p. 493.
[4] Eusebius, vii. 32. [5] Athanasius, *Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt*, 23.

4. *Peter of Alexandria* was also a teacher in the school, and probably its chief for at least a part of his episcopate. He was made bishop in 300, and suffered martyrdom in 311. Eusebius calls him 'one of the most excellent teachers of the religion of Christ.' He 'presided most illustriously over the parishes in Alexandria, a divine example of a bishop on account of the excellence of his life and his study of the Sacred Scriptures.' [1]

During this period a scholar named *Serapion* taught in the school, and may possibly have presided for a time.

11. *The school during the fourth century passed more and more into obscurity, probably owing to the absence of famous teachers, and to the domination of great ecclesiastics on the one hand, and the fanaticism of ignorant monks on the other.*

1. *Alexander* became bishop of Alexandria at an uncertain time subsequent to November 311, when his predecessor died. He was an able executive and correspondent of the other great sees. He is especially famous for his part in the Arian controversy. Doubtless the school continued to exist in his day, but nothing is known about it.

2. At the beginning of the fourth century *Hesychius* carried on the Biblical scholarship of the school in his great work on the text of the Septuagint, which became the standard for Egypt; but nothing certain is known of him or his relation to the school.[2]

3. *Athanasius* (293-373) was born in Alexandria, and it is probable that he was educated in the Christian school, but we have no report of it. A legend represents him as attracting the notice of Alexander in boyhood while at play, by his exact imitation of the part of a bishop in the rite of baptism. The account describes

[1] Eusebius, viii. 13; ix. 6.
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 193 *seq.*

him as 'well-educated,' and 'versed in grammar and rhetoric,' and the bishop is said to have made him his 'table-companion and secretary.'[1] His early advancement to leadership in the Church, and the character of his writings, alike imply training in sacred learning. He served as reader six years, and as deacon accompanied Alexander to the Council of Nicæa, where he was 'foremost among those who were in attendance on bishops,' and did 'his utmost to stay the plague' of Arianism.[2] On the death of Alexander the following year he succeeded him as bishop. His battle with the Arians lasted from this time until his death, that is, for nearly fifty years, in the course of which he was degraded, exiled, and restored again and again. The *Roman Breviary* describes him as 'the lealest soldier that the Catholic religion hath perhaps ever had,' and as governing 'the Church of Alexandria in great holiness, amid all changes of weather.'[3] In the words of De Broglie, 'he was inflamed from his youth with that passion which makes saints—the love of Jesus Christ.'[4] He became 'the most renowned and effective expounder' of the creed of Nicæa; and his name has 'not unfitly been coupled with that of Constantine,' 'the powerful guardian of the unity of the Church,' a unity involving 'the profession of a common creed.'[5] He was at once 'the father of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, and the patron of ecclesiastical monachism.'[6] He it was who 'introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life.'[7] To Basil he seemed 'the summit of the whole Church,' a 'truly grand and apostolic soul,

[1] Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 17.
[2] Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* 21.
[3] *Roman Breviary*, ed. Marquess of Bute, vol. i. pp. 1053 *seq.* (Feast day, May 2).
[4] De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, i. 372.
[5] Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 120, 136.
[6] Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 147 *seq.*
[7] Gibbon, iv. 308.

who from boyhood had been an athlete in the cause of religion.' [1] His writings bear witness to his familiarity with the Scriptures. They are chiefly concerned with the Arian controversy, and are very numerous. Among them is a Life of Antony, of great influence in promoting piety of the ascetic type. The best known of his works against the Arians are the Apology and the Four Orations. The creed which bears his name belongs to the age of Augustine, originated in the school of Lérins, and presents Athanasian doctrine in an Augustinian form.[2]

4. Three names have been preserved as those of heads of the Alexandrian school during the fourth century: *Macarius*, *Didymus*, and *Rhodon*. Of *Macarius* almost nothing is known; but *Didymus* († 395) is said to have presided in the school for more than fifty years, and taught both Rufinus and Jerome. Sozomen says that Didymus was

'acquainted with every branch of science, and was conversant with poetry and rhetoric, with astronomy and geometry, with arithmetic, and with the various theories of philosophy. He had acquired all this knowledge by the efforts of his own mind, aided by the sense of hearing; for he became blind during his first attempt at learning the rudiments.' [3]

Jerome cries:

'Didymus, my own Didymus, who has the eyes of the bride in the Song of Songs, those eyes which Jesus bade us lift up upon the whitening fields, looks afar into the depths, and has once more given us cause to call him, as is our wont, the Seer-Prophet. . . . He is rude in speech, yet not in knowledge; his very style marks him as one like the apostle, as well by the grandeur of the sense as by the simplicity of the words.' [4]

Antony sought to comfort him for his blindness by saying: 'Do not be distressed for the loss of a faculty

[1] Basil, *Epp.* 69, 80, 82.
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 268 *seq.*
[3] Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 16.
[4] Jerome, cited in Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 24.

enjoyed by gnats and flies, when you have that inward eyesight which is the privilege of none but saints.'[1] Libanius wrote: 'You cannot surely be unacquainted with Didymus, unless you are unacquainted with the great city where he has been pouring out his learning for the benefit of others, night and day.'[2] He was the author of 'many admirable works,' including numerous commentaries, and several dogmatic and polemic writings. His book on the Holy Spirit is considered 'one of the best works of the ancient Church on the subject.'[3] He was under the influence of Athanasius, and was extolled by Jerome for 'the purity of his faith in the Trinity,' but charged with being 'a most avowed champion of Origen.'[4] His *Notes on Origen's Principles* are no longer extant.

Rhodon assisted Didymus for a time in the catechetical school, and finally succeeded him as its head. But after ten years (*c.* 405) Rhodon migrated to Side, Pamphylia, where he established a branch school. His pupil, *Philip of Side*, had the charge of this school for a time.[5]

With Rhodon the school of Alexandria came to an end. Political interference, ecclesiastical domination, and popular outbreaks, which were common occurrences, combined to reduce the school to severe straits and eventually to destroy it. The monks, rigid ascetics, and inclined to be hostile toward philosophy and Greek learning, were not favourable to the historic principles of the school, which had enabled its teachers to work in harmony with the teachers of the university. Didymus indeed had maintained friendly relations with the ascetics, and had won the approval of Antony as well as of Jerome. Like his bishop Athanasius he had

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* 68; cf. Socrates, iv. 29. [2] Libanius, *Ep.* 321.
[3] Krüger, 'Didymus,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*
[4] Jerome, *Apolog. adv. libros Rufini*, i. 6; iii. 27.
[5] *Vide* Dodwell, *Dissertationes in Irenæum*, 1689, pp. 491 *seq.*

combined the two interests, and was as noted for piety as for universal knowledge. But when the unworthy Theophilus († 412) became bishop, he found an army of fanatical monks at his disposal. In 391 they destroyed the great Serapeum with its invaluable library. Again in 415, during Cyril's episcopate, they murdered Hypatia, the gifted philosopher of revived Neo-Platonism. Of course the Christian school could not flourish under such circumstances, between the upper millstone of a haughty and unscrupulous executive, and the lower one of a mob of fanatical monks.

Early in the fifth century a new school of Neo-Platonism was formed at Alexandria, in which the most interesting teacher was *Hypatia*. Her father was both philosopher and mathematician, and she followed in his footsteps. She was trained at Athens, and lectured in Alexandria on both subjects, until her death at the hands of a Christian mob.[1] Socrates says that she had 'made such attainments in literature and science, as to far surpass all the philosophers of her own time,' and that many of her pupils 'came from a distance to receive her instructions.' He mentions her 'cultivation of mind,' and 'self-possession and ease of manner'; and he asserts that she was admired by all men for 'her extraordinary dignity and virtue.'[2]

Among the Christians that studied with Hypatia was *Synesius of Cyrene* (*c.* 370-413). He was her most distinguished pupil, and on his first visit to Alexandria remained with her about five years (*c.* 390-395). From his father, a senator of Cyrene, he inherited a library, which he greatly enlarged. He went to Constantinople, while Chrysostom was bishop, as envoy of Cyrene at the court of Arcadius, and after his return spent two more years (*c.* 402-404) at Alexandria. In 406 he was called

[1] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. pp. 365 *seq.*
[2] Socrates, vii. 15.

by the people from a life of retirement to be bishop of Ptolemais. After some hesitation he was consecrated in the following year. His *Dion*, written *c.* 405, is described by Sandys as 'an *Apologia pro vita sua*,' 'a treatise on education and moral discipline.' His letters, 159 in number, are of value, as 'full of the news of the day, full too of grace and point and literary interest.' [1] He also wrote a number of hymns, some of which are still in use.

Synesius' important letters on education and learning make no mention of the Christian school of Alexandria. By that time it had either already ceased to exist, or had sunk so low as to be unworthy of notice.

12. *The school of Alexandria exercised a great influence over Palestine, not only through Origen and his school at Cæsarea, but also through his successors at Alexandria. The chief scholars thus influenced were Julius Africanus and Alexander of Jerusalem.*

1. *Julius Africanus* (*c.* 160-240) seems to have served for a time as officer in the eastern Roman army, and to have studied in Edessa, and finally in Alexandria, to which he was attracted by 'the great fame of Heraclas.' [2] He settled eventually at Nicopolis, not far from Jerusalem. During a sojourn in Rome he constructed a library near the Pantheon for Alexander Severus.[3] He ranks as one of the most learned men of the age; and his *Kestoi, Embroideries*, numbering most probably twenty-four books, was a sort of encyclopædia. He was especially interested in history; and his *Chronography* in five books was used by both Eusebius and Hippolytus, and is the basis of Christian chronology. These works are extant in fragments only, but some letters of importance have been preserved.

[1] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. pp. 365 *seq.*
[2] Eusebius, vi. 31.
[3] *Vide* Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrrhyncus Papyri*, iii. p. 39; Duchesne, i. pp. 460 *seq.*

2. *Alexander of Jerusalem* studied in Alexandria under Pantænus and Clement, and was influenced also by Origen, his fellow-student. After the death of both teachers he writes to Origen :

'For this, as thou knowest, was the will of God, that the ancestral friendship existing between us should remain unshaken ; nay, rather should be warmer and stronger. For we know well those blessed fathers who have trodden the way before us, with whom we shall soon be ; Pantænus, the truly blessed man and master, and the holy Clement, my master and benefactor, and if there is any other like them, through whom I became acquainted with thee, the best in everything, my master and brother.' [1]

Alexander was, for a time, bishop in Cappadocia, probably at Cæsarea,[2] and suffered an imprisonment of some years for his faith. Shortly after his release (*c.* 212) he visited Jerusalem, and there was made coadjutor to the aged bishop Narcissus, and after his death full bishop of that see. In Jerusalem he established a library, and doubtless built up the catechetical school. The great Alexandrian scholars, wherever they went, established schools and libraries after the model of those of Alexandria. Eusebius states that the letters of many learned men 'have been preserved and are easily accessible . . . kept until our time in the library at Ælia (Jerusalem), which was established by Alexander, who at that time presided over that church. We have been able to gather from that library material for our present work.' [3] After the removal of Origen to Cæsarea, Alexander joined Theoctistus, the bishop of that church, in constant attendance upon him 'as their only teacher, and (in) allowing him to expound the divine Scriptures, and to perform the other duties pertaining to ecclesiastical discourse.' [4]

[1] *Vide* Eusebius, vi. 14.
[2] *Vide* Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. p. 6.
[3] Eusebius, vi. 20.
[4] *Ibid.*, 27.

Alexander died in prison during the Decian persecution. He was a broad-minded executive rather than a writer, and greatly increased the influence of the see of Jerusalem.

13. *The school of Cæsarea continued to flourish after the death of Origen, under the headship of Pamphilus, who established a great library and trained influential men.*

The school of Cæsarea, founded or greatly promoted by Origen, remained an important theological centre for some years, and was resorted to by many earnest students.

Pamphilus (*c.* 240-309), a native of Berytus, was trained in philosophy there, and in theology at Alexandria under Pierius. He became a presbyter at Cæsarea, and head of the theological school. He enlarged Origen's collection of books, and made of it a great library, gathering manuscripts from all parts of the world, employing copyists, and transcribing many works with his own hand. In this way he multiplied copies of the Scriptures and of Origen's works, seeking above all to secure accuracy in the transmission of the Sacred Text. He had a great reverence for Origen, and wrote an Apology for him in five books, to which his pupil, Eusebius, added a sixth. This work was the fruit of the two years' imprisonment which ended in his martyrdom. Eusebius describes him as 'most eloquent,' as 'excelling all in (his) time in most sincere devotion to the Divine Scriptures,' and as 'the great glory of the parish of Cæsarea.'[1] Jerome says that Pamphilus was

'so inflamed with love of sacred literature, that he transcribed the greater part of the works of Origen with his own hand; and these are still preserved in the library at Cæsarea. I have

[1] Eusebius, vii. 32; viii. 13; *Martyrs or Palestine*, xi. 2.

twenty-five volumes of Commentaries of Origen, written in his hand, *On the Twelve Prophets*, which I hug and guard with such joy, that I deem myself to have the wealth of Crœsus. And if it is such joy to have one epistle of a martyr, how much more to have so many thousand lines, which seem to me to be traced in his blood.' [1]

14. *The chief pupil of Pamphilus was Eusebius, the father of Church History, and as an encyclopædic scholar second only to Origen.*

Eusebius (*c.* 265-340) was born at Cæsarea, and studied under Pamphilus, helping him in the school and in the enlargement of the library. According to Jerome they were in 'such thorough harmony with each other that they seemed to have but one soul between them, and one even went so far as to adopt the other's name.' [2] The pupil indeed was known as Eusebius Pamphili, and wrote a life of his master, which is no longer extant. He became the greatest scholar of his time, and ruled in Cæsarea as bishop for over twenty-five years. His works are almost as numerous as those of Origen. They cover a wide range of theological science, including exegesis, history, dogmatics, and practical theology. His chief merit, however, is as an historian. He wrote a number of Acts of Martyrs, biographies of Origen, Pamphilus, and Constantine, a chronicle based on that of Julius Africanus, and above all his Church History, a monumental work, upon which all later church history chiefly depends for the first three Christian centuries. He also wrote upon Biblical history, geography, and topography: much of this has unfortunately been lost. 'With Pamphilus the martyr (he was) a most diligent investigator of the Holy Bible,' [3] thus carrying on the work of Origen. He wrote several commentaries on the Psalms, Isaiah, Luke, and First Corinthians, using the

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 75.
[2] Jerome, *Ep.* 84.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 81.

method of the Alexandrian school. His greatest service in this regard was: (1) the preparation of sections and canons of the Gospels, in order to a comparison of the cognate sections in the interest of their harmony: these have been in use ever since; (2) the issue of numerous copies of Origen's text of the Septuagint. He prepared no less than fifty copies for Constantine to be given to the chief churches of the empire. He also wrote a large number of apologetic works, especially one against Porphyry. Other works of importance were his *Theophania* in five books (preserved in Syriac), and his *Præparatio Evangelica* in fifteen books, and *Demonstratio Evangelica* in twenty books (preserved only in part). Eusebius took an important part in the Arian controversy, in which he represented a middle party, essentially in the line of Origen's teachings. He presented to the Council of Nicæa the creed of the Church of Cæsarea, which was accepted as a basis for the Nicene Creed, but with certain additions, which were not entirely agreeable to him.[1] These he managed to explain in his own sense; though the stricter Nicene party charged him with Arian tendencies, if not with Arianism itself. He was, however, in this regard a conservative and scholarly mediator. As a broad-minded scholar he was opposed to extremes, and used his great influence to secure a simpler form for the Nicene Creed.

15. *Little is known of the school at Jerusalem until the time of Cyril, whose catechetical lectures give a faithful picture of the method and style of instruction in the bishop's school.*

Cyril (315-386) was ordained a deacon by Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, about the year 335, a priest by

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 214 *seq.*; *Theological Symbolics*, p. 85.

Maximus II. ten years later, and finally bishop in 351. Sixteen of the thirty-five years of his episcopate were passed in exile, owing to Arian hostility. Cyril was a Eusebian in his theological position, and perpetuated the influence both of Eusebius and of Origen. His *Catechetical Lectures*, written *c.* 347-8, when he was a presbyter, give an exposition of the creed of Jerusalem for candidates for baptism in eighteen lectures, and then higher training for candidates for the Eucharist in five. In these he makes great use of the Scriptures.

16. *The influence of Origen and the school of Cæsarea extended to Pontus and Cappadocia through Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, Pontus, and Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, Cappadocia. These bishops advanced the higher Christian education in those regions.*

1. One of the ablest pupils of Origen at Cæsarea was *Gregory the Wonder-worker*, called originally Theodore (*c.* 213-270). He came of a high family, was thoroughly educated as a heathen in the grammar and rhetorical schools, and finally set out for Beirut (Berytus) to pursue the study of law. Coming to Cæsarea, he met Origen with momentous result. In his own words :

> 'Love, like some spark, lighting upon our inmost soul, was kindled and burst into flame within us—a love at once to the Holy Word, . . . and to this man, His friend and advocate. And being by this love most mightily smitten, I was persuaded to give up all . . . even my boasted jurisprudence—yea, my very fatherland and friends. . . . "And the soul of Jonathan was knit with David." '[1]

Gregory studied with Origen for five years, and under his influence became a Christian. At the time of parting he wrote and delivered in Origen's presence, and before a large audience, the panegyric already quoted.[2] After his return to Pontus, Gregory received a letter

[1] Gregory, *Panegyric on Origen*, 6.

[2] *Vide* pp. 90-91.

from Origen, acknowledging that he might become 'a finished Roman lawyer or a Greek philosopher,' but urging him rather to use 'the philosophy of the Greeks' and the liberal arts as helps to Christianity, imitating the Children of Israel, who by 'spoiling the Egyptians' obtained material for use in the service of God. Origen writes:

'Do you then, my son, diligently apply yourself to the reading of the Sacred Scriptures. . . . Knock at its locked door. . . . Seek aright, and with unwavering trust in God, the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, which so many have missed. Be not satisfied with knocking and seeking; for prayer is of all things indispensable to the knowledge of the things of God. . . . My fatherly love to you has made me thus bold.'[1]

Gregory finally resolved to give up his professional prospects and follow Origen's advice. Not long after he was made bishop of Neo-Cæsarea. Besides the panegyric on Origen he wrote a short creed or exposition of the faith, and a number of letters, homilies, and lesser dogmatic treatises. He had a legal and practical mind, rather than a theological one, and therefore excelled as an executive rather than as a scholar. His name, the *Wonder-worker*, was due to the common opinion that he was 'a man endowed with apostolic miracles as well as with apostolic virtues.'[2] Basil writes:

'Where shall I rank the great Gregory, and the words uttered by him? Shall we not place among apostles and prophets a man who walked by the same Spirit as they? . . . By the superabundance of gifts, wrought in him by the Spirit, in all power, and in signs and in marvels, he was styled a second Moses by the very enemies of the Church.'[3]

2. *Firmilian* († 268) was bishop of Cæsarea, Cappadocia, for about forty years. He was certainly an admirer and friend of Origen. Whether he was won

[1] Origen, *Epistle to Gregory*.
[2] Jerome, *Ep.* 70.
[3] Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 29.

to Christianity by Origen, as Gregory of Nyssa reports, is not so certain. At all events he was of the school of Origen, and spread in Cappadocia the higher Christian education characteristic of that school. According to Jerome he 'sought a visit from (Origen), and entertained him for a long while. Some time afterwards, going to Palestine to visit the holy places, he came to Cæsarea and was instructed by Origen at length in the Holy Scriptures.'[1] Eusebius writes that Firmilian was

'so earnestly affected toward Origen, that he urged him to come to (Cappadocia) for the benefit of the churches, and moreover he visited him in Judæa, remaining with him for some time, for the sake of improvement in divine things.'[2]

17. *The school of Gaza was a child of Alexandria. Its most distinguished representatives were Timotheus, a grammarian, and Procopius, a rhetorician.*

1. *Timotheus* studied in Alexandria, and taught in Gaza, flourishing in the latter part of the fifth century.

2. *Procopius* (*c.* 465-527) was famous as a rhetorician, and as a collector and arranger of exegetical material from the older exegetes. He also had lived in Alexandria, and there won such a reputation as a rhetorician that Antioch, Tyre, and Cæsarea vied with each other in efforts to secure his services. But he finally settled in Gaza, his native town.[3] He is 'the first who can be demonstrated to have made *Catenæ*. The value of his work, which rests not only upon the Fathers from the third to the fifth century, but upon Josephus and Philo, and upon some of the teachers before Origen, gave it an epoch-making position.'[4] His numerous letters are also of value.

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 54. [2] Eusebius, vi. 27.
[3] *Vide* Seitz, *Die Schule von Gaza*, pp. 9 *seq.*
[4] Zöckler, 'Catenæ,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

3. Among other commentators of the later Alexandrian school may be mentioned *Olympiodorus*, a deacon of Alexandria of the first half of the sixth century. He wrote many commentaries, the most of which have been lost. His commentary on Ecclesiastes has been preserved, and has merit.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH AND ITS EASTERN RELATIONS FROM THE THIRD CENTURY ONWARD

1. *The Christians at Antioch, until the middle of the third century, received their training in the bishop's school, and went for higher culture to the public schools.*

There is a long list of bishops of the Church of Antioch for the first three Christian centuries; but the most of them were undistinguished men. None of them attained to the eminence of the second bishop, Ignatius; and except for Theophilus, no other bishop rendered notable service in the study of theology. There is no evidence for the existence of any Christian school for higher education in Antioch before the middle of the third century; but in the latter part of that century the presbyters of Antioch had among them several men of exceptional learning and ability, who built up a school of Christian literature. In the following century there sprang up in Antioch and the neighbourhood cloister schools, one of which became very famous. Thus Antioch had several important schools of different types. But all were built up by her presbyters, and all were characterised by the same tendencies in theology and philosophy, and by the same method in Biblical study. As students of theology the scholars of Antioch all belonged to one school of thought; and it is therefore

possible to speak of 'the school of Antioch' as well as of 'the school of Alexandria.'

2. *The apparent founder of the Christian school of Antioch was Malchion, a converted Sophist, the chief opponent of the heretical bishop, Paul of Samosata, in the second half of the third century.*

Malchion was principal of a Sophist school in Antioch. He was converted to Christianity, became a presbyter, and organised his school as a Christian school. This must have been prior to 260, when Paul of Samosata became bishop; for Malchion was his chief opponent, and so thoroughly exposed his errors and immorality that he was deposed by a general council of bishops (267-9). Jerome describes Malchion as 'the highly gifted presbyter of the Church at Antioch, who had most successfully taught rhetoric in the same city.' [1]

3. *The school of Antioch gained its chief renown through Lucian, the ablest teacher and theologian of his time, especially in Biblical learning.*

Lucian († c. 312) was probably born in Samosata of a prominent family, and received his early education at Edessa under Macarius. He removed to Antioch, c. 260-265, where he became a presbyter and an eminent teacher. At first he seems to have been friendly with Paul, the bishop, his compatriot and possibly his early acquaintance and friend; and for some time did not recognise Paul's deposition. But he does not seem to have been compromised by Paul's theological opinions, and for a long period the orthodoxy of Lucian and his school remained unquestioned. Eusebius tells of his death by martyrdom, and his fame 'for learning in sacred things.' [2] He was acquainted with Hebrew, and 'united what Syria, Alexandria, and Palestine had to offer for a

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 71. [2] Eusebius, ix. 6.

scientific treatment of the Bible.' 'What Origen had been for the Alexandrian school, that was Lucian for the school of Antioch.'[1] His principal work was in textual criticism, the revision of the Greek Bible known as Lucian's text. Jerome says: 'Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem, Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat.'[2] Thus at the beginning of the fourth century there were three rival texts of the Greek Bible in circulation, one from each of the three great centres of theological education. Lucian, however, was chiefly active as a teacher who influenced many scholars throughout the East, especially in the interpretation of the Scriptures.

4. *The school of Antioch was characterised by historical and literary principles of interpretation, and by a tendency towards Aristotelianism in philosophy.*

How far the principles of the school can be carried back to Lucian we do not know; but probably in the main they may be, for he is universally recognised as the greatest teacher of the school, as Origen was of the school of Alexandria; only unfortunately he has left us but little in literature by which he may be judged.

The fundamental principles of interpretation of the school are as follows:[3]

(1) Every passage has its literal meaning, and only one meaning. We must, however, distinguish between plain and figurative language, and interpret each passage in accordance with its nature. (2) Alongside of the literal sense is the typical sense, which arises out of the relation of the Old Covenant to the New. It is based upon the literal sense, which it presupposes.

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[1] Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, p. 9.

[2] Jerome, *Præf. in Paralip.*; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 193.

[3] *Vide* Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, pp. 26 *seq.*

The school of Antioch rejected the allegorical method of the school of Alexandria, and did much to preserve a sounder exegesis in the Church. In Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, and Theodoret the principles of the school found expression in the noblest products of Christian exegesis.

As Kihn says:

'The Antiochians mediated between the two contrasted positions: a coarse, childish, literal sense, and an arbitrary allegorical interpretation; between the extremes of the Judaizers and Anthropomorphites on the one hand, and the Hellenistic Gnostics and Origenists on the other; and they paved the way for a sound Biblical exegesis, which remained influential for all coming time, although indeed not always prevalent. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, and even the later Alexandrians, like Didymus the Blind, felt the healthful influence on their exegetical method. Jerome introduced it into the West.'[1]

The Aristotelian philosophy was more influential in this school than the Platonic; and Neo-Platonism seems to have had little, if any, influence.

Lucian was the teacher of Arius and of Eusebius of Nicomedia, the chief Arians, and is therefore often held responsible for their views; but incorrectly, if the creed attributed to him and adopted at the Council of Antioch in 341 was really his. It was probably the Creed of the Church of Antioch coming down from his time, and doubtless professed by him as an unchallenged presbyter of that church until his death.

5. *Dorotheus, a presbyter of Antioch, was a younger cotemporary of Lucian, and also an eminent teacher of the school.*

Little is known of *Dorotheus* († 303), but Eusebius knew him personally, and says that he was 'a man of learning

[1] Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, pp. 29 *seq.*; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 451 *seq.*

among those of his day, who was honoured with the office of presbyter in Antioch. He was a lover of the beautiful in divine things, and devoted himself to the Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with facility. He belonged to those who were especially liberal, and was not unacquainted with Grecian propædeutics.'[1] He suffered in the Decian persecution; and, according to Eusebius, in him and his companions this persecution 'produced martyrs divine and illustrious above all whose praises have ever been sung, and who have been celebrated for courage, whether among Greeks or barbarians.'[2] Dorotheus seems to have been associated with Lucian in the building up of the school, and the development of its principles of exegesis.[3]

6. *The most eminent scholar of the school was Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, who was distinguished as a teacher, whether he taught in Antioch or not.*

Eusebius of Emesa († c. 360) was born of a noble family, in Edessa, where he received his early training. He then went to Palestine, and studied with Eusebius of Cæsarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, under whom he 'acquired a more intimate knowledge of sacred literature.'[4] Dissatisfied with the allegorical method of interpretation, he left for Antioch and the school of Lucian, whose principles of exegesis were the same as those of his first school at Edessa. From Antioch he went to Alexandria to study philosophy, but reverted to the Aristotelianism of his native city. Socrates ascribes this visit to Alexandria to his wish to 'avoid a bishopric.'[5] He was offered the episcopate at Antioch, but declined the honour. After another sojourn in that city he was made bishop of Emesa, Phœnicia. Whether

[1] Eusebius, vii. 32.
[2] Eusebius, viii. 6.
[3] *Vide* Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, pp. 9 *seq.*
[4] Sozomen, iii. 6.
[5] Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 9.

he taught at Antioch is not known, but he is reckoned as belonging to the school in the larger sense. He was certainly a teacher, for he taught Diodorus of Tarsus. Sozomen attributes to him a 'great reputation for sanctity and consummate eloquence.' Jerome says that he had 'fine rhetorical talent, composed innumerable works suited to win popular applause, and, writing historically, is most diligently read by those who practise public speaking.'[1] He wrote commentaries and polemic, apologetic and dogmatic treatises, of which only fragments have been preserved.

7. *Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, was for some years presbyter and teacher in the church of Antioch, and had as his pupils Theodore of Mopsuestia and Chrysostom.*

Diodorus († before 394) was a native of Antioch, but went to Athens for his higher education, and then resorted to Eusebius of Emesa. Before admission to the priesthood, Diodorus and Flavian, 'that excellent pair . . . worked night and day to stimulate men's zeal for the truth. They were the first to divide choirs into two parts, and to teach them to sing the Psalms of David antiphonally. Introduced first at Antioch, the practice spread in all directions, and penetrated to the ends of the earth.' Both men 'embraced an ascetic career, and were open champions of the apostolic decrees.'[2] Diodorus was made a presbyter, and, during the Arian persecution, 'the whole city' gathered to hear him preach, and were 'fed by him with sound doctrine,' from 'a tongue flowing with milk and honey.'[3] 'In his wisdom and courage, like a clear and mighty river, (he) watered his own (sheep), and drowned the blasphemies of his opponents, thinking nothing of the

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 91.
[2] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 19.
[3] Chrysostom, *Laus Diodori*, 4; *vide* Venables, 'Diodorus,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

splendour of his birth, and gladly undergoing the sufferings of the faith.'[1] He taught in the church of Antioch, and also for a time as the head of a cloister school with Carterius as assistant. John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia were among the scholars trained in this community. According to Kihn,

'the seeds scattered by Diodorus and his pupils brought forth a grand development of theological science in general and exegesis in particular, for the Church of their time and for all later centuries.'[2]

There was among these scholars 'an extraordinary activity in the field of exegesis.' Diodorus wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Bible, and his great pupils show a like devotion to the study of the Sacred Writings. In 378 Diodorus was consecrated bishop of Tarsus, Cilicia, and three years later attended the Council of Constantinople, and there was recognised as metropolitan. He was one of the most prominent theologians of the school of Antioch, especially in dogmatics, and a defender of the Nicene faith. His numerous writings on dogma were for the most part controversial. Except for fragments all of his works have been lost, owing to the opposition of the Monophysites to him and the entire school of Antioch. In philosophy Diodorus was an Aristotelian.[3] In theology he laid stress on the humanity of Christ and the distinction between the two natures, the human and the divine, over against the Apollinarians. In exegesis he likewise distinguished elements human and divine.

8. *Apollinaris of Laodicea belonged to the school of Antioch in his exegetical and philosophical principles, though it is doubtful whether he ever studied at Antioch.*

[1] Theodoret, iv. 22.
[2] Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegetischen Gebiete*, pp. 55 *seq.*
[3] Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, ii. p. 601.

Apollinaris (*c.* 310-390) was the son of a teacher of rhetoric, and presbyter of the church of Laodicea in Syria. He himself became a teacher of rhetoric, a presbyter, and finally bishop of his native place. He was probably trained by his father, and it is quite possible that he may have received some education at Antioch. At all events he seems to have been one of the most learned men of his age. He was a great Biblical scholar, rejecting the allegorical method of the Alexandrians, and using the literal and historical methods of the Antiochans. He was also an Aristotelian like Diodorus.[1] According to Jerome, he wrote innumerable volumes on the Holy Scriptures.[2] As an apologist he is said to have 'surpassed his predecessors.'[3] His dogmatic works were of great influence. He was a strict adherent of the Nicene theology, and a friend of Athanasius; but in seeking to explain the relation of the divine and the human in Christ and to maintain the unity of His person, he fell into heresy, and was condemned by the Church. His works are extant in fragments only, or under some more orthodox name.

9. *John Chrysostom was a pupil of Diodorus, and was distinguished as a preacher and a Biblical interpreter on the practical side.*

Chrysostom (*c.* 345-407) was born at Antioch of a rich patrician family. He attended the lectures of the rhetorician Libanius, the philosopher Andragathius, and above all the theologians Diodorus and Carterius. He was ordained as a reader soon after his baptism (*c.* 370). After eleven years of service he was ordained a deacon by Meletius, and five years later a priest by Flavian. For twelve years longer he laboured in Antioch as priest, possibly as teacher also, developing 'wonderful powers

[1] *Vide* Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, ii. pp. 592, 601.
[2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 104.
[3] Krüger, 'Apollinaris,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

of eloquence and persuasion.' Sozomen says that he was declared by Libanius 'to surpass all the orators of the age'; and that when the sophist was asked on his death-bed whom he would choose to take his place, he answered: 'It would have been John, had not the Christians taken him from us.'[1] Suidas likens his eloquence in its irresistible power to the 'waterfalls of the Nile.'[2] In 398 he was consecrated bishop of Constantinople, and there he was recognised as 'the golden mouth.' Sozomen relates that the people 'hung upon his words, and could not have enough of them; so that, when they thrust and jammed themselves together in an alarming way, every one making an effort to get nearer to him, and to hear him more perfectly, he took his seat in the midst of them, and taught from the pulpit of the reader.'[3] But his asceticism, and his determined attacks upon court abuses and sins, ruined his influence, and brought about his persecution and the exile in which he died. 'He did not confine his efforts to the reformation of his own church; but, as a good and large-minded man, he sought to rectify abuses throughout the world.'[4] He is described as of 'a fiery temperament,'[5] with 'a proneness to irritability,' and in spite of his 'rectitude of life' and a 'simplicity of character (which) rendered him open and ingenuous,' 'the liberty of speech he allowed himself was offensive to very many.'[6] Yet his personal influence was great and his affections strong. In his youth, according to Sozomen, he persuaded two of his companions in the school of Libanius to accompany him in his studies with Diodorus, and thus won for the Church two great bishops, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Maximus of Seleucia.[7] Over Theodore his influence was

[1] Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, viii. 2.
[2] *Vide* Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegetischen Gebiete*, p. 60.
[3] Sozomen, viii. 5. [4] *Ibid.*, viii. 3. [5] Socrates, vi. 15.
[6] *Ibid.*, vi. 4. [7] Sozomen, viii. 2.

lasting and momentous. Chrysostom's letters show an extraordinary power over the minds and hearts of men. Gibbon calls the years of his exile 'the most glorious of his life.' [1] Newman ascribes the charm of his expositions of Scripture to 'his power of throwing himself into the minds of others, of imaging with exactness and with sympathy circumstances or scenes which were not before him, and of bringing out what he has apprehended in words as direct and vivid as the apprehension.' [2] He seems to have been, not only 'a man of marvellous knowledge' and 'sanctity of life,' [3] but also a 'son of thunder' and an apostle of love. His writings are very numerous, but chiefly exegetical and practical, consisting of sermons, letters and treatises. His sermons 'cover practically the whole Bible. . . . The pupil of Diodorus of Tarsus is easily to be recognised in his sober exegesis.' [4] His volume *On the Priesthood* is one of the best on the work of the Christian minister that has ever been written.

10. *Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, was also a pupil of Diodorus at Antioch, and the most distinguished exegete of the school. He was a great teacher for nearly fifty years, at first in Antioch and then in Mopsuestia.*

Theodore (*c.* 350-428) was born at Antioch of a family conspicuous for wealth and influence. Like Chrysostom, he studied with Libanius, and afterwards under Diodorus, whose disciple he was in the fullest sense. In 383 he was made a presbyter of Antioch by Bishop Flavian, and without doubt taught in the school until he himself was made a bishop (392). According to Theodoret, Theodore was

[1] Gibbon, III. xxxii. p. 380. *Vide* article on 'Chrysostom' in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.
[2] Newman, *Historical Sketches*, ii. p. 289.
[3] Gennadius, 30.
[4] Preuschen, 'Chrysostom,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

'a doctor of the whole Church and a successful combatant against every heretical phalanx. . . . He had enjoyed the teaching of the great Diodorus, and was the friend and fellow-worker of the holy John; for they both together benefited by the spiritual draughts given by Diodorus. Six and thirty years he had spent in his bishopric, fighting against the forces of Arius and Eunomius, struggling against the piratical band of Apollinaris, and finding the best pasture for God's sheep.' [1]

He wrote many dogmatic and polemic works, which have been only partially preserved. But his chief work was in Biblical exegesis, after the methods of the Antiochan school, covering a large part of the Old and New Testaments. Only a portion of this has been preserved, but all is of great value. Long after his death the Second Council of Constantinople (553) condemned him for supposed Christological errors, but unjustly, in order to appease the Monophysites.

11. *Theodoret of Cyrrhus, another member of the school of Antioch, was also distinguished for his exegetical writings.*

Theodoret (*c.* 393-457) was born at Antioch, brought up under the care of ascetics, and attained to exceptional learning in both sacred and classic literature. After years of training in the lower orders, he was made bishop of Cyrrhus in 432. The town of Cyrrhus was 'insignificant,' the diocese numbered 800 parishes, and was full of heresy. In Antioch Theodoret had won a great name for himself as a preacher. In Cyrrhus he used his powers of persuasion to win over heretics in large numbers. He himself declares:

'I brought over to the truth eight villages of Marcionites, and others in their neighbourhood, and with their free consent. Another village, filled with Eunomians, another filled with Arians, I led into the light of divine knowledge. And by God's grace, not even one blade of heretical cockle is left among us. Nor have I accomplished this without personal danger.' [2]

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[1] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 39. [2] *Ep.* 81.

Theodoret took a prominent part in the Nestorian controversy against the Alexandrians, and wrote in defence of Diodorus and Theodore. His works include dogmatic, apologetic and controversial treatises, letters, sermons, and histories. But his most important work was exegetical, and much of it has been preserved. As an exegete his ideal was high. He says :

'The exegesis of the Divine Oracles demands a soul cleansed and spotless ; it demands also a keen intelligence which can penetrate into the things of God, and venture into the shrine of the Spirit. It needs, moreover, a tongue which can subserve that intelligence, and worthily interpret what it understands.' [1]

The commentaries of Theodoret include almost all the books of the Old Testament and many of the New. Some suppose him to have studied with Theodore and Chrysostom ; [2] he was certainly their disciple in exegesis, and made such use of the works of the Antiochan exegetes, especially Theodore, that he is said to have 'rescued the exegetical heritage of the school of Antioch as a whole for the Christian Church.' [3]

12. *The school of Edessa is of unknown origin, but is probably as old as Christianity itself in that region, developing out of the school of the synagogue.*

Christianity originated at Edessa in a Jewish community, at least as early as the beginning of the second century. The traditional apostle of Edessa was Addai, a Christian Jew from Palestine. The Jewish community had already translated the Old Testament into Syriac, the language of that region, showing an advanced state of culture at that time.[4] About the year 172 *Tatian* returned from Rome to his native country, and is said by Epiphanius [5] to have established in Mesopotamia a

[1] Theodoret, *In Cant.* ; *vide* Newman, *Historical Sketches*, ii. p. 334.
[2] Kihn, *Bedeutung d. Antioch. Schule*, p. 64.
[3] Bonwetsch, 'Theodoret,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*
[4] Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, pp. 71 *seq.*
[5] Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, xlvi. 1.

school, whose influence extended to Antioch. This must have been in the time of Bishop Hystaspes, and Epiphanius can only have referred to Edessa. Tatian's *Diatessaron* became the Gospel for the Syrian Church, until the episcopate of Rabbula (411-435). There are two other Syriac texts of the separate Gospels which belong to this period, indicating a literary activity, especially in Biblical study, such as always afterwards characterised the school.

Bardesanes (*c.* 154-223) was active at Edessa from 179 to 216, after his baptism by Hystaspes, bishop and one of Addai's successors. He was influential with the king (Abgar) of his time; and according to Bar-Hebræus, 'he taught the doctrine of the Church at Edessa.' [1] In his writings he uses the form of the dialogue, which belongs to the catechetical method of teaching; and it may well be that he was a teacher of the school.

Julius Africanus came under the influence of Bardesanes, and spent some years in Edessa, before he went to the school of Alexandria. Bardesanes, like Tatian, had Gnostic tendencies, and was charged with heresy by later writers. He was excommunicated by the bishop who succeeded Hystaspes; but his views of Christianity were rather crude than heretical. He even deserves great credit for his part in the extension of Christianity in Mesopotamia, Persia and the far East. Renan calls him

'a sort of Numenius, conversant with all the philosophies, all the religions, all the sects. He was sincerely a Christian; he was even an ardent preacher of Christianity, almost a missionary: but all the Christian schools through which he passed left some mark upon his spirit; though none detained him. Only Marcion, with his austere asceticism, displeased him altogether. Valentinianism, on the contrary, in its oriental form, was the doctrine to which he continually reverted. . . . After having enchanted

[1] *Vide* Hort, 'Bardaisan,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*

his generation by his brilliant preaching, by his ardent idealism, and by his personal charm, he was overwhelmed with anathemas, he was classed among the Gnostics—he who had never wished to be classed.' [1]

Bardesanes was the author of psalms and hymns, which have mostly been lost, and of polemic works against Marcion and other heretics. Duchesne describes him as at once a Plato and a Pindar.[2]

Eusebius calls him 'a most able man and a most skilful disputant in the Syriac tongue,' and ascribes to him controversial and 'many other works.' 'His pupils, of whom he had very many (for he was a powerful defender of the faith), translated these productions from the Syriac into Greek.' [3] Jerome remarks: 'If so much force and brilliancy appears in the translation, how great must it have been in the original!' [4] He ascribes to Bardesanes 'the reputation among the Syrians of having been a brilliant genius and vehement in argument.' Both Jerome and Eusebius mention with praise a treatise *On Fate*, 'a most remarkable and strong work,' which represents Bardesanes in discussion with his pupils, and is now supposed by many to have been written by one of them, though fairly representing his own ideas and methods of teaching.

Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes, trained at first by his father and afterwards at Athens, continued his teaching at Edessa, and is said to have surpassed him in 'the seductive harmony of his hymns.' [5] Sozomen says of Harmonius:

'It is related that he was deeply versed in Grecian erudition, and was the first to subdue his native tongue to metres and musical laws; these verses he delivered to the choirs, and even

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[1] Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 436 *seq.*; *vide* Duval, *Histoire Politique, Religieuse et Littéraire d'Édesse*, pp. 115 *seq.*

[2] Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, i. p. 454.

[3] Eusebius, iv. 30.

[4] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 33.

[5] Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 119.

now the Syrians frequently sing, not the precise copies by Harmonius, but the same melodies.' [1]

'The followers of Bardesanes seem,' as McGiffert says, 'to have emphasised those points in which he differed with the Church at large, and thus to have departed further from catholic orthodoxy.' [2] The sect persisted until the fifth century.

13. *In the third century the school of Edessa had the honour of training Lucian under the teacher Macarius.*

At the commencement of the third century Abgar IX., the friend of Bardesanes, came under the influence of the Roman Empire, journeyed to Rome, and after his return embraced Christianity.[3] Not long after, Serapion, the bishop of Antioch, consecrated *Palut* bishop of Edessa. This was resented by the eastern Christians, who adhered to their own traditions; and a schism originated in the church, as is usual in conflicts of jurisdiction. Palut authorised the use of the four separated Gospels in his congregations, over against the *Diatessaron* of Tatian; and, according to Burkitt,[4] we may trace the Curetonian and other early Syriac versions to this period and to his influence; but he was unable to overcome the use of Tatian's *Harmony*. Edessa passed more and more under Roman influence, and in 216 the country became a Roman province. Three of the successors of Palut during the third century are known by name: 'Abshelama, Barsamya the martyr (*c.* 250-260), and Qona (*c.* 290). During this period Edessa as a border fortress suffered from almost constant warfare and from repeated persecutions, which must have greatly interfered with Christian education. Odænathus took possession of the

[1] Sozomen, iii. 16.
[2] McGiffert, *Eusebius*: 'Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,' series II. vol. i. p. 210, *n.* 2.
[3] *Vide* Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, pp. 60 *seq.*; Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 27.
[4] Burkitt, *ibid.*, p. 77.

city in 264. Eight years later the kingdom ruled by his widowed queen Zenobia was brought to an end through her defeat and capture by Aurelian.

It was during this brief period that Lucian removed from Edessa to Antioch. He had been trained at Edessa under *Macarius*, and doubtless himself was a Syrian. It is probable that he began his textual studies in the place where so much work upon the Syrian Bible had already been done. Of Macarius nothing further is known.

14. *During the fourth century the school of Edessa reached its most flourishing condition under Ephræm, the Syrian.*

Eusebius of Emesa, as well as Lucian, received his early training at Edessa before going to Antioch. Sozomen states that, 'according to the custom of his country, he had from his youth upwards learned the Holy Word, and was afterwards made acquainted with the learning of the Greeks, by the teachers who then frequented his native city.'[1] Socrates quotes his biographer, George of Laodicea, as saying that 'from a child he had studied the Holy Scriptures,' and was 'afterwards instructed in Greek literature by a master resident at Edessa.'[2] Not even the influence of Eusebius of Cæsarea was sufficient to wean him from those methods of study which he had acquired at Edessa and found again in the school of Lucian at Antioch.

Another great scholar connected with both Edessa and Antioch was *Aphraates* (Afrahat), 'the Persian Sage,' whose writings belong to the first half of the century, and of whom little else is known. His principal work consists of twenty-two homilies, composed in 337-345, in exposition of the Christian faith, and whose initial letters follow the order of the Semitic alphabet.

[1] Sozomen, iii. 6. [2] Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 9.

In the fourth century 'the school of the Persians' at Edessa became noted as a centre for theological learning. Duval thinks that this school was founded after the capture of Nisibis by the Persians in 363, when Ephræm and a large body of the people left Nisibis for Edessa. Referring to Ephræm's commentary on Genesis for evidence that he taught in Edessa, Duval states that he was 'without doubt professor in the school of the Persians.'[1] Kihn distinguishes the Persian school from the school of Ephræm 'among all the schools of Edessa,' and describes the latter as weathering the Monophysite storms, and 'holding the path between the two extremes of the allegorical-mystical and the rational-grammatical methods.'[2] Bardenhewer says that 'the theological school of Edessa was not only a seminary for the Persian clergy, but also the centre of all the academic and literary activity of Syria.'[3] It seems most probable that the school of Edessa, like that of Antioch, included more than one group of students; and that to the bishop's school were added, in the course of time, cloister schools and possibly also a theological seminary for Persian students. In this larger sense the school of Edessa certainly reached its 'highest development in the course of the fourth century, when Ephræm appears as at once its greatest doctor and the best representative of its peculiar characteristics.'[4]

Ephræm Syrus (*c.* 308-373) was born and spent the greater part of his life in Nisibis; but his removal to Edessa was so momentous in its effect upon the Edessene school that it must be considered here, although much of his work, both as teacher and writer, was done in his native place. He had a host of pupils, 'who were zealously attached to his doctrines.' Among

[1] Duval, *Histoire d'Édesse*, pp. 145, 152, 160.
[2] Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule*, p. 84.
[3] Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 384. [4] Bardenhewer, *ibid.*

these may be mentioned Zenobius, a deacon of Edessa, Mar Isaac, Asuna, Julian, Simeon, Abha, and Abraham. In the most celebrated of his disciples 'the Syrians and whoever among them pursued accurate learning made a great boast.'[1] During this period of his life Ephræm is said to have visited the monks in the Egyptian desert and Basil in his Cappadocian see. Basil made him a deacon, and wished to make him a bishop; but Ephræm refused. According to Sozomen, Basil 'was a great admirer of Ephræm, and was astonished at his erudition.' He was indeed a voluminous writer, and the author of commentaries, homilies, and dogmatic treatises, and especially of hymns and religious poems of every kind. One of his commentaries was on Tatian's *Diatessaron*. His works were translated into Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic. Jerome says that Ephræm 'became so distinguished that his writings are repeated publicly in some churches, after the reading of the Scriptures,' and adds: 'I once read in Greek a volume by him on the Holy Spirit, which some one had translated from the Syriac, and recognised even in translation the incisive power of lofty genius.'[2] Duval remarks:

'These hymns and these homilies served as models to the fathers of the Syrian Church, who cultivated this variety of literature: they took their place in the rituals, breviaries, and collections for divine service among the orthodox as well as among the Jacobites and the Nestorians.'[3]

Sozomen describes the style of Ephræm as 'so replete with splendid oratory, and with richness and temperateness of thought, that he surpassed the most approved writers of Greece.'[4] The controversial hymn, which proved an effective weapon against heresy, is said to have originated with him. Neale remarks that 'hymns occupy in the Eastern Church a space beyond all com-

[1] Sozomen, iii. 16.
[2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 115.
[3] Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 157.
[4] Sozomen, iii. 16.

parison greater than they do in the Latin . . . the body of the Eastern breviary is ecclesiastical poetry.' [1]

15. *During the fifth century the school of Edessa came under the control of the great bishop Rabbula, after which it declined, owing to the controversies, which the Council of Chalcedon tried in vain to determine.*

At this period we catch only occasional glimpses of the school.

1. There arose in the first part of the century, according to Wright, 'one of the stars of Syriac literature, *Isaac*, commonly called the Great, of Antioch.' He forms another link between these two cities and their schools. As a young man he went to Edessa and studied in the school of Ephræm, some say with Ephræm, others with his disciple Zenobius. He also visited Rome and other cities, and finally settled in a monastery near Antioch. His works are 'nearly as voluminous and varied as those of Ephræm,' and 'include nearly two hundred metrical homilies.' [2]

2. *Rabbula* (411-435) was a great executive, and used his influence against the native Syrian tendencies and in favour of the Greek. The Peshitto version of the New Testament, based on the Lucian text of Antioch, was probably made under his patronage.[3] He wrote canons and monastic rules, also letters and many hymns. He espoused the Chalcedonian decisions against Nestorianism, and one of his measures is said to have been the removal of the teachers of the theological school, for their Nestorian tendencies. By such measures he alienated the Syriac Christians; and the division that ensued, especially after his death, carried the greater part of the Syrians into heterodoxy. The Eastern Syrians became Nestorians, the Western Monophysites.

[1] Neale, *Hymns of the Holy Eastern Church*, pp. 34 *seq.*
[2] Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, pp. 51 *seq.*
[3] *Vide* Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 78.

3. *Ibas* (Hibha, † 457), the successor of Rabbula, favoured Nestorianism. In his youth he translated the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus with the aid of 'Couma, Probus and Ma'ne, disciples of the school of the Persians.'[1] Under his protection the school revived.[2] His disciples, Mari and Elitha, taught as professors there, and were active in spreading his views. He was deposed, indeed, by the Robber Synod at Ephesus, in 449; but the Council of Chalcedon (451) restored him to his see. From that time onward for nearly forty years the school continued its work. At last, in 489, under the influence of Bishops Nonnus and Cyrus, the Emperor Zeno interposed, the teachers were banished, the scholars disbanded, and the famous school of Edessa came to an end.

16. *The origin of the school of Nisibis is obscure. It was probably founded before the middle of the fourth century.*

Jacob the Wise, first or second bishop of Nisibis († 338), ruled as bishop for nearly thirty years, and was active at the Council of Nicæa. He is called by Loofs the founder of the school.[3] Under him and his successors *Ephræm Syrus* received his training as a Christian. According to Theodoret, Ephræm was 'totally untainted by heathen education.'[4] Sozomen says:

> 'Although he received no instruction, he became, contrary to all expectation, so proficient in the learning and language of the Syrians, that he comprehended with ease the most abstruse theorems of philosophy.'[5]

Nisibis was captured by the Persians in 363, and that was the year in which Ephræm left there, to settle before long

[1] Duval, *Histoire Politique, Religieuse, et Littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première Croisade*, p. 174.
[2] *Vide* Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegetischen Gebiete*, p. 86; Moore, 'The Theological School at Nisibis,' in *Studies in the History of Religions: Presented to C. H. Toy*, p. 257.
[3] Loofs, *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 37.
[4] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 26. [5] Sozomen, iii. 16.

at Edessa. Therefore all but ten of the years of his active literary life were spent at Nisibis; and since he became a noted teacher in Edessa, it is probable that he taught, as he certainly wrote, in Nisibis. His fame as a poet had begun to spread before he left there. He was soon to become known, in all parts of the Church, as 'the prophet of the Syrians,' 'the lyre of the Holy Ghost.'

17. *The school of Nisibis was refounded in* 489 *by the professors expelled from Edessa in that year, and Narsai was placed at its head. It continued to be a great school for a long period, and its influence extended even to the West.*

When the professors of the school of Edessa were expelled for their Nestorianism, they went to the Persian city Nisibis, where the Christians were Nestorians. The bishop at that time was *Barsumas* (Bar Sauma, 435-489), who had taught in the school of Edessa, and been driven from there in the time of Rabbula (*c.* 432), or, as some think, about the time that Ibas was deposed. He was a man of ability and a writer of some importance. He gave to the exiles from Edessa a cordial reception; and *Narsai*, his friend and former associate, was made head of the school. It is not known whether the school existed before the arrival of the expelled professors or not; but it is certain that the emigration gave to the school such an impulse that it became the great seat of learning for all the Nestorians. Narsai was the author of many commentaries, and of metrical discourses and hymns. He had many pupils, among whom may be mentioned *Mar Aba*, whose writings included a work on canon law in addition to the usual Syrian productions: commentaries, homilies and hymns. He was succeeded by his nephew *Abraham* (*c.* 520), who is said to have been exiled from Edessa with Barsumas, and to have studied at Nisibis under Narsai. He also composed commentaries and hymns.

His successors in the school were *John*, also a pupil of Narsai, who wrote commentaries, hymns and polemic works; *Joseph*, another disciple, 'the first Syriac grammarian,'[1] († *c.* 580); and *Hannana*, under whom the school reached its greatest popularity, numbering no less than eight hundred pupils. Hannana was the author of commentaries, an exposition of the Nicene Creed, and discourses on doctrinal and liturgical questions. But his views were not in accord with Nestorian traditions, and so he was deposed by a synod in 596.

Through Barsumas, Narsai and their associates, Edessa repaid the debt which she incurred when Ephræm came to her from Nisibis. These exiles carried with them the stores of learning and methods of instruction acquired at Edessa. Duval states that Rabbula, Ibas, and the doctors of the school of Edessa wrote and spoke Greek fluently.[2] At Nisibis the exiled scholars and their disciples undertook the translation of Greek writings, including those of Aristotle. Mar Aba is said to have translated into Syriac the Greek text of the Old Testament. The study of the Scriptures was made fundamental in Nisibis, as at Antioch and Edessa. The school had interesting statutes,[3] which are still extant, consisting of rules 'adopted in 496, shortly after its foundation, and reaffirmed in 530; and new regulations from the year 590.'[4] These are chiefly rules of conduct. There were several teachers; one of reading, another of writing, a third of singing; but the principal teacher was the interpreter of Scripture. The course of study extended over three years. One of the teachers of this school in the sixth century, Paul of Nisibis, was influential in the

[1] Wright, *Hist. Syr. Lit.*, pp. 115 *seq.*
[2] Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 180.
[3] *Vide* Guidi, in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, iv. (1890), 165 *seq.*; Nestle, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xviii. (1897-1898), 211 *seq.*; *Catholic University Bulletin*, 1906.
[4] Moore, *Stud. Hist. Relig.*, p. 258.

west through Junilius Africanus and Cassiodorus.[1] The former in his *Instituta* used copiously a lost work of Paul on the study of the Bible; the latter sought to organise in Rome a school of theology modelled after that of Nisibis. Of Paul and his work Moore writes:

'On a visit to Constantinople, Primasius [of North Africa] had asked Junilius whether there was any one among the Greeks who was conspicuous in Biblical science. Junilius replied that he had met a certain Paul, a Persian . . . who had been educated in the school of the Syrians at Nisibis, "where instruction in the Divine Law is systematically and regularly given by public professors, as among us grammar and rhetoric are taught as branches of secular learning." Junilius had obtained from him a text-book on hermeneutics which he was accustomed to give in the form of lectures to his students at the beginning of their course as an introduction to the study of Scripture. Of this book Junilius sent Primasius a Latin translation in catechetic form, under the title *Instituta regularia divinæ legis*. . . . The Nestorian Church in the sixth century seems to have been in advance of any other branch of the Church in the systematic education of its ministry by a three years' course in an institution exclusively devoted to theological study.'[2]

The sixth century was for the Syrians a period of extraordinary literary activity,[3] and many works of interest were produced, yet none, save that of Paul, of lasting importance for the development of theological scholarship. But in the seventh century appeared a scholar of more than temporary importance. *Jacob of Edessa* (*c.* 640-708) was trained in a monastery, and studied for a time at Alexandria. He was made bishop of Edessa, and drew up a set of canonical rules for his clergy; but the attempt to enforce them gave such offence that he was forced to resign from his office. For many years he lived in monastic seclusion, devoting himself chiefly to the study of the Scriptures. He was a Greek scholar, at a time when Greek was neglected;

[1] *Vide* pp. 197 ff.
[2] Moore, *Stud. Hist. Relig.*, pp. 263 *seq.*
[3] Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, pp. 218 *seq.*

and he taught the Scriptures in that language. He is said to have 'excelled in all branches of knowledge.'[1] Wright says:[2]

'He was, for his time, a man of great culture and wide reading, being familiar with Greek and with older Syriac writers. Of Hebrew he probably understood very little, but he was always ready, like Aphraates, to avail himself of the aid of Jewish scholars, whose opinion he often cites. He appears before us as at once a theologian, historian, philosopher, and grammarian, as a translator of various Greek works, and as the indefatigable correspondent of many students, who sought his advice and assistance from far and near. As a theologian, Jacob wrote commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, which are cited by later authors.'

Among the important works of Jacob may be mentioned revisions of the Peshitto text of the Old Testament, and of the liturgy of St. James, translations of Greek works, and various writings on the worship and discipline of the Church, homilies, metrical discourses, a chronicle in continuation of Eusebius' *Church History*, treatises on philosophy and philology, and valuable letters. As a grammarian he 'occupies an important place in Syriac literature.' He was recalled to his see on the death of Habbībh, his successor there; but died himself a few months later. 'In the literature of his country (he) holds much the same place as Jerome among the Latin fathers.'[3]

Other schools were established by the Syrian Christians, and the great monasteries, like those in which Jacob taught and studied, were important centres of theological education; but none of these rivalled the school of Nisibis, which remained for several centuries 'the principal institution for the training of the clergy of Persia, and of the Nestorian missionaries, who carried Christianity to the remotest quarters of Asia.'[4] In the

[1] Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 241.
[2] Wright, *Hist. Syr. Lit.*, pp. 142 *seq.*
[3] Wright, *ibid.*
[4] Moore, *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 258.

eighth century, however, all the Chaldaic schools declined,[1] and by the ninth that of Nisibis was forced to 'yield the pre-eminence to the school at Bagdad.'[2] Yet it continued to maintain the principles of the school of Antioch, and, imparting these to the Arabic scholars and Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages, made its influence felt through them in the Church of the West.[3]

[1] Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule*, p. 87.
[2] Moore, *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 258.
[3] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 451 *seq.*

CHAPTER IV

OTHER EASTERN SCHOOLS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH

1. *Christians at Athens received their ordinary religious education in the bishop's school, but their higher education in the public schools and the university.*

There seems never to have been a higher Christian school at Athens; but gradually Christian teachers began to give instruction by the side of the pagan teachers in the public schools. Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen studied at Athens under the Christian teacher Proæresius and the pagan Himerius; and at one time (355) Julian the Apostate was their fellow-student. These must have been distinguished teachers to draw to Athens the young Julian, soon to be emperor, and such able scholars as the two Cappadocians. Diodorus also resorted to Athens for a while; although, as we have seen, he belongs rather to the school of Antioch.

Himerius (born *c.* 315) taught in Athens for nearly forty years. He could say to his pupils: 'What blended sound of flute and pipes can touch your souls like the simple accents of this chair?'[1] According to Gregory,[2]

'most of the young men at Athens (were) mad after rhetorical skill. . . . They (were) just like men devoted to horses . . . at the horse-races.' Athens was 'hurtful' to many 'in spiritual

[1] Capes, *University Life in Ancient Athens*, pp. 114 *seq.*; cited by Sandys, i. p. 351.

[2] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xliii. 15-22.

things; and this (was) of no slight consequence to the pious, for the city (was) richer in those evil riches—idols, than the rest of Greece, and it (was) hard to avoid being carried along with their devotees and adherents. . . . Yet we (says Gregory), our minds being closed up and fortified against this, suffered no injury. On the contrary, strange as it may seem, we were thus the more confirmed in the faith. . . . And we were surrounded by a far from ignoble band.'

Of this band Basil was the leader.

'We ran on foot beside that Lydian car; . . . and so we became famous, not only among our own teachers and comrades, but even throughout Greece, and especially in the eyes of its most distinguished men. We even passed beyond its boundaries . . . for our instructors were known to all who knew Athens, and all who knew them, knew us . . . being actually looked upon, or heard of by report, as an illustrious pair. . . . To us two roads were known: . . . the one leading to our sacred buildings and the teachers there; the other to secular instructors. All others—(those) to feasts, theatres, meetings, banquets—we left to those who would pursue them.'

Gregory was in Athens something like twelve years in all; and he and Basil could hardly tear themselves away: 'for there is nothing so painful to any one as is separation from Athens and one another to those who have been comrades there.' Many years after, Gregory wrote:

'I take it as admitted by men of sense, that the first of our advantages is education; and not only this our more noble form of it, . . . but even that external culture, which many Christians ill-judgingly abhor, as treacherous and dangerous, and keeping us afar from God.'[1]

Basil also, in one of his homilies, testified to the value of a training in classical literature.

Soon after Julian became emperor (362), he forbade Christian teachers to give instruction in the grammar and rhetorical schools, or 'the children of Christians from frequenting the public schools, and from being in-

[1] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xliii. 11.

structed in the writings of the Greek poets and authors. . . . His sole motive was, . . . because he considered such studies conducive to the acquisition of argumentative and persuasive power.' [1]

2. *The three great Cappadocians were essentially Platonists, and in general sympathy with the direction given by the school of Alexandria. They deserve the credit for the formula that finally settled the Arian controversy.*

1. *Basil* (*c.* 330-379) was born at Cæsarea, Cappadocia, and brought up, as he says, by his grandmother, 'the celebrated Macrina, who taught (him) the words of the most blessed Gregory' (Thaumaturgus), and 'fashioned and formed (him), while yet a child, upon the doctrines of piety.' [2] His father, advocate, teacher of rhetoric and 'the common instructor of virtue' [3] to all of Pontus, introduced him to secular learning. 'When sufficiently trained at home,' he took his place in the schools of Cæsarea, and is said to have equalled his masters and surpassed his classmates 'in every form of culture.' From Cæsarea he went to Constantinople and finally to Athens, 'the home of letters,' where Gregory had preceded him. The two soon became 'all in all to one another, housemates, messmates, intimates.' They seemed to have 'one soul inhabiting two bodies.' [4] Here also Basil excelled all his fellows. 'His galleon was laden with all the learning attainable by the nature of man.' After five years of study Basil tore himself from his friends at Athens and returned to practise rhetoric at Cæsarea. But after a time he determined to undertake the ascetic life, and travelled to Alexandria, the Egyptian desert, Palestine, and elsewhere, seeking examples in monastic perfection. He finally retired to the neighbourhood of the family estate at Annesi, and

[1] Sozomen, v. 18.
[2] Basil, *Ep.* 204.
[3] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xx.
[4] Gregory, *ibid.*, xliii. 13-24.

there acquired by practical experiment the ideals embodied in his famous monastic rule.

'He reconciled most excellently and united the solitary and the community life. . . . He founded cells for ascetics and hermits, but at no great distance from his cenobitic communities; and, instead of distinguishing and separating the one from the other, as if by some intervening wall, he brought them together and united them, in order that the contemplative spirit might not be cut off from society, nor the active life be uninfluenced by the contemplative; but that, like sea and land, by an interchange of their several gifts, they might unite in promoting the one object, the glory of God.'[1]

Basil himself writes in his rule:

'God has made us, like the members of our body, to need one another's help. For what discipline of humility, of pity, or of patience can there be, if there be no one to whom these duties are to be practised? Whose feet wilt thou wash—whom wilt thou serve—how canst thou be last of all, if thou art alone?'[2]

Himself a great ascetic, Basil became the founder and patron of Eastern monasticism in its permanent form. His order has continued, and his rules have been observed until the present day. Of great importance was his admission of children to his monasteries for education. The spread of his order meant the multiplying of monastic schools.

In 364 Basil was ordained a presbyter, and six years later the bishop of Cæsarea. He was the idol of his people, but the object of jealousy and suspicion to many of his fellow-bishops. Exarch of Pontus as well as metropolitan of Cappadocia, 'his authority extended over more than half Asia Minor, and embraced as many as eleven provinces.' He became involved in a serious conflict of jurisdiction, in the Arian controversy, and in difficulties with former friends in the episcopal body. His own orthodoxy was suspected, because of 'the large-heartedness which led him to recognise a real oneness of

[1] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xliii. 62. [2] Basil, *Reg. Resp.* vii.

belief under varying technical formulas.'[1] He was 'coldly treated,' even by the Latin world, 'suspected of heresy by Damasus, and accused by Jerome of pride.'[2]

Gregory remarks:

'What they term pride is, I fancy, the firmness and steadfastness and stability of his character. Such persons would readily, it seems to me, call bravery rashness, and the circumspect a coward, and the temperate misanthropic, and the just illiberal.'[3]

In a memorable contest with the Arian Emperor Valens and his representative Modestus, the prefect reported to the emperor: 'We have been worsted, Sire, by the prelate of this church. He is superior to threats, invincible in argument, uninfluenced by persuasion.'[4]

Basil's episcopate was marked by a thorough reform of his clergy, a reform of public worship, and the establishment of great charitable institutions for the relief of suffering and the care of the helpless. The group of buildings which he founded attained such proportions that it was called 'the New City,' and then by his own name the 'Basileiad.' As for his 'eloquence and his powers of instruction,' Gregory cries:

'If any one ever has become, or can become, a trumpet, in his far sounding resonance; or a voice of God, embracing the universe; or an earthquake of the world... it is his voice and intellect which deserve these titles. . . . Whenever I handle his *Hexæmeron* . . . I am brought into the presence of the Creator. . . . Whenever I take up his polemical works, I see the fire of Sodom. . . . Whenever I read his writings on the Spirit, I find the God whom I possess, and grow bold in my utterance of the truth, from the support of his theology and contemplation. His other treatises . . . lead me on from a mere literal or symbolical interpretation to a still wider view, as I proceed from one depth to another, calling upon deep after deep, and finding light after light, until I attain the highest pinnacle. When I study his panegyrics on our athletes, I despise the body . . . and rouse

[1] Venables, 'Basil,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.
[2] Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, p. 115.
[3] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xliii. 64.
[4] *Ibid*, 51.

myself to the struggle. His moral and practical discourses purify soul and body, making me a temple fit for God, and an instrument struck by the Spirit, to celebrate by its strains the glory and power of God. . . . Basil's beauty was virtue, his greatness theology, his course the perpetual motion reaching by its ascents even unto God, and his power the sowing and distribution of the Word.' [1]

Basil's principal writings include a polemic *Against Eunomius*, letters, homilies, a monastic rule, canonical epistles, and that revision of public worship which underlies the earliest form of the liturgy that bears his name.

2. *Gregory Nazianzen*, 'the theologian' (*c.* 329-389), was born near Nazianzus, and trained in the schools of Cæsarea, where he first met with Basil. He calls the Cappadocian town an 'illustrious city . . . the guide and mistress of (his) studies, the metropolis of letters.' He left it only to seek new instructors in Palestine, at Alexandria, and finally at Athens, which became to him 'a city truly of gold, and the patroness of all that is good.' [2] When Basil resisted every effort of his teachers and fellow-students to detain him in Athens, Gregory yielded to their persuasion; but he could not long endure Athens without Basil, and 'like the horse in Homer, burst the bonds of those who restrained (him), and prancing over the plains rushed to (his) mate.' [3] Out of devotion to his parents he resisted the entreaties of his friend that he would retire from the world. But he paid a long visit to Basil in his monastic retreat, and together they prepared an anthology of Origen's works. Basil's interest in medicine was shared by Gregory, who says: 'Though inferior to him in all other respects, in distress I must needs be his equal.' [4] Of Basil's theology he cried: 'Let it be mine, and that of all dear to me. . . . I take him for my partner in this, as in all else.' [5] Gregory

[1] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xliii. 65-67.
[2] Gregory, *ibid.*, xliii. 13, 14.
[3] Gregory, *ibid.*, 24.
[4] Gregory, *ibid.*, 61.
[5] Gregory, *ibid.*, 69.

was ordained a presbyter much against his will, and delivered an oration giving his views on the Priestly Office.

Of the importance of study he writes :

'To undertake the training of others before being sufficiently trained oneself, and to learn, as men say, the potter's art on a wine-jar, that is, to practise ourselves in piety at the expense of others' souls, seems to me to be excessive folly or excessive rashness—folly, if we are not even aware of our own ignorance; rashness, if in spite of this knowledge we venture on the task.' [1]

Gregory showed the same reluctance when Basil made him a bishop in 372. Against such compulsory ordination he protests :

'There is not a physician who has not first studied the nature of diseases, or a painter who has not mixed many colours, or practised drawing: but a prelate is easily found, without laborious training, with a reputation of recent date, being sown and springing up in a moment, as the legend of the giants goes. Those who are holy we manufacture in a day; and bid those to be wise who have had no instruction.' [2]

True to his high ideals, and with characteristic humility, Gregory served as bishop only when compelled by necessity, and chiefly in his father's diocese, as his assistant or substitute. But in 379 he responded to the call which came from Constantinople for a defender of the Nicene faith. It was there that he preached his celebrated *Theological Orations*, his greatest work, to which he owes his title, 'the theologian.' These five Orations produced a profound impression. Such men as Jerome and Evagrius came to Gregory for instruction. Jerome is proud to call him 'my instructor in the Scriptures.' [3] He was even made patriarch, and in 381 presided at the Council of Constantinople. But he felt himself unequal or unwilling to maintain a position which could only be held at the cost of bitter conflict,

[1] Gregory, *Oration* ii. 47.
[2] Gregory, *Oration* xliii. 26.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 117.

and in the interests of peace he soon retired from the field. His writings include numerous orations, letters, and poems.

3. *Gregory of Nyssa*, a younger brother of Basil († after 394), was trained in the grammar and rhetorical schools, but not in the university. Little is known of his life. He seems to have practised as a rhetorician for some years, but was finally made a bishop in 372. His see was small, yet he did not escape persecution, and was forced to remain away from Nyssa until after the death of Valens. He was prominent at the Council of Constantinople in 381. His writings include exegetical, dogmatic, controversial and ascetic works, as well as homilies and letters. The most important of these are his great *Catechetical Oration*, his *Antirrhetic against Apollinaris*, and his work *Against Eunomius*. Like Gregory Nazianzen, he was under the influence of both Origen and Athanasius, yet felt the sway of other schools also. By his reading he made up to a large extent for what he had missed in the way of university training, and is regarded by some scholars as the most original and independent thinker of the great Cappodocians. All three were distinguished by much liberality of spirit and persuasive power of speech. The final victory of the Nicene faith over the various forms of heresy was accomplished chiefly by a more careful and accurate definition of its technical terms, and especially by the distinction in the Godhead of the three hypostases, or persons. It was the merit of the three great Cappadocians that they found a term upon which both East and West could agree: they succeeded in giving to *hypostasis* a definite meaning, which made it appropriate for use in the distinction of the three persons of the Trinity.[1]

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 239 *seq.*; *Theological Symbolics*, p. 94.

3. *The public schools of Athens continued to be the great stronghold of heathenism, until they were closed by Justinian in* 529. *They had little influence upon Christianity during this period, but at their dissolution the pseudonymous writings of Dionysius the Areopagite perpetuated the Neo-Platonic mysticism of the school.*

The edict of Julian had made the school of Athens altogether heathen ; and it seems never to have recovered its influence with Christians. It had a great influence, however, under Julian as a stronghold of Neo-Platonism and of the Greek religion, but losing his protection it declined. It revived for a time under Proclus (410-485), the most famous Neo-Platonist of his age, who is said to have taught there for forty-seven years,[1] but languished under his successors, Marinus, Isidorus and Hegias. Once more it revived, and for the last time, under Damascius, who was presiding when its doors were closed by the edict of 529. Justinian by this act destroyed the last stronghold of the Greek religion, but at the same time wrought an irreparable injury to Greek culture. The decree was issued in the interests of Christianity ; yet in fact it did great harm to Christianity by lowering the standard of education in the empire. Three years later seven of the Athenian teachers, including Damascius, sought refuge at the court of Persia, but returned ere long to settle in Alexandria.[2]

Soon after the close of the school of Athens occurs the first mention of the writings of '*Dionysius the Areopagite*,' whose Christian mysticism and Neo-Platonism were of immense influence upon both Eastern and Western Scholasticism. According to Sandys,

'their many coincidences with the teaching of Proclus and Damascius have led to their author being identified as a Christian Neo-Platonist, and to their date being assigned to *c.* 480-520. The works on the heavenly and on the ecclesiastical hierarchy (with

[1] *Vide* Sandys, i. pp. 372 *seq.*

[2] *Vide* Sandys, i. p. 375.

the triple triads in each), and those on the Divine Names and on mystical theology, had their influence on the "angelology," the mysticism, and (in the case of Joannes Scotus) the pantheism of the Middle Ages. Their author has been called the father of Scholasticism. He was specially studied by John of Damascus in the Eastern, and by [Thomas] Aquinas in the Western Church.'[1]

This pseudonymous work, in its influence of mixed good and evil, was the revenge of the school of Athens upon an intolerant Christianity.

4. *Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, represents the traditional ecclesiastical tendency which ultimately prevailed in the Church. He was noted for his zeal against heresy, and led a reactionary movement against Origen.*

Epiphanius († 403), bishop of Salamis and metropolitan of the Island of Cyprus, was from the monastery of Eleutheropolis, Palestine, a foundation of his own, which he had ruled for many years. In his youth he had sojourned with the monks of Egypt, and had there come under the influence of the party hostile to the Origenists. According to Sozomen, he had been 'instructed by the most famous ascetics,' and 'became most celebrated in Egypt and Palestine by his attainments in monastic philosophy.' Sozomen adds: 'He is, I think, the most venerated man under the whole heaven.'[2] He represented a tendency in the Church other than those of the schools of Antioch and Alexandria, namely, the traditional ecclesiastical tendency which ultimately prevailed. Jerome says that his many works are 'eagerly read by the learned, on account of their subject matter, and also by the plain people, on account of their language.'[3]

His most important works are the *Ancoratus*, or *Anchored Fast*, written against Trinitarian heresies, and the *Panarion*, or *Medicine Chest*, against all heresies.

[1] Sandys, i. p. 376.
[2] Sozomen, vi. 32.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 114.

5. *Constantinople, as capital of the Roman empire, became a great seat of education.*

'The imperial city of the East' is described by Gregory Nazianzen as 'distinguished by the eminence of its rhetoricians and philosophical teachers.'[1] Among them was Himerius, the famous rhetorician of Athens, who taught at one time in Constantinople, and doubtless helped to give that city its reputation as a seat of learning.

Themistius († before 395) 'declined important appointments in Rome and Antioch, and spent most of his life at Constantinople, where he had a high reputation as an eloquent teacher. . . . Under several successive emperors he was practically the public orator of Constantinople, and the noblest use which he made of that position was to plead repeatedly for toleration in matters of religious belief and worship. He was highly esteemed by Christians and pagans alike. His Christian correspondent, Gregory Nazianzen, calls him "the king of eloquence."[2] . . . He holds himself aloof from the Sophists of the day: "the Sophists might dwell contentedly in the unrealities of dreamland, but eternal verities alone engaged the attention of his class."'[3]

Libanius († *c.* 393), before settling at Antioch, taught for a time at Constantinople, 'where his lectures became so popular, that in 343 rival teachers of rhetoric secured his expulsion from the city on a charge of "magic."'[4] Five years later he returned there, but found his enemies still in power, and eventually settled in Antioch, where, as we have seen, he became the teacher of Chrysostom and Theodore.

In his school at Constantinople *Amphilochius* was trained, the future bishop of Iconium, and, under

[1] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xliii. 14.
[2] Gregory, *Ep.* 140.
[3] Sandys, i. pp. 352 *seq.*
[4] Article 'Libanius,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

Theodosius, the most important ecclesiastic in Asia Minor.[1] In his youth he served as advocate in Constantinople, but soon retired to Cappadocia, where he came under the influence of Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. In 373 he was made bishop of Iconium, where he became known as a 'blameless high-priest, the loud herald of truth.'[2] Jerome classes him with the two Cappadocians as writers 'who cram their books with the lessons and sentences of the philosophers to such an extent that you cannot tell which you ought to admire most in them, their secular erudition or their Scriptural knowledge.'[3] Only fragments of the writings of Amphilochius remain.

6. *After the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in* 391, *Ammonius and Helladius, two of the chief grammarians, fled to Constantinople, where they renewed their teaching. They became the instructors of Socrates, the Church historian, and the first of a series of historians of this school.*[4]

1. *Socrates* was born at Constantinople (*c.* 308), and relates in his history that among the fugitive teachers from Alexandria were 'the two grammarians Helladius and Ammonius, whose pupil I was in my youth at Constantinople.'[5]

Socrates also studied with Troilus in his school of rhetoric, and became an advocate. His history is a continuation of that of Eusebius, beginning with the reign of Constantine and continuing until 439. It is arranged in seven books, the last two giving the history of his own time.

2. *Sozomen* was the third great Church historian.[6] He was born in Palestine (*c.* 400), studied law in Beirut,

[1] Duchesne, ii. p. 584.
[2] Gregory Nazianzen, *Carm.*, ii. 1068; *vide* Lightfoot, 'Amphilochius,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.
[3] Jerome, *Ep.* 70.
[4] *Vide* Sandys, i. p. 361.
[5] Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 16.
[6] The first was Eusebius; *vide* p. 105.

and then went to Constantinople and practised law. He refers to a certain Aquilinus, as 'advocate in the same court of justice as that to which we belong.'[1] He wrote an outline of Church history, covering the same period as that of Eusebius, which has been lost; then a fuller Church history parallel with that of Socrates, in nine books.[2] Valesius, in the preface to his edition of Sozomen's work, compares these two historians, saying: 'Sozomen is superior in the elegance of his expression, yet Socrates excels him in judgment. For Socrates judges incomparably well, both of men and also of ecclesiastical business and affairs; and there is nothing in his works but what is grave and serious, nothing that can be expunged as superfluous. But on the contrary some passages occur in Sozomen that are trivial and childish.'[3]

3. *Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, the fourth Church historian, was really a member of the school of Antioch, as we have seen,[4] but Constantinople and Antioch were near akin. He wrote, in five books, of the period 325-429, *i.e.* to the time when the Nestorian controversy began. He also compiled a pious history of thirty famous ascetics.

4. *Philostorgius* was the fifth Church historian, and recorded the events from the time of Constantine until 425. He was born in Cappadocia (*c.* 368), studied at Constantinople, and became proficient in philosophy, geography, medicine and poetry, as well as in the seven 'liberal arts.' He was not orthodox, and favours the unorthodox in his history; he is therefore much condemned by orthodox writers. His work is preserved only in extracts, chiefly those given by Photius.

5. *Theodorus Lector* is the sixth of the Church historians. He was a Palestinian of the sixth century,

[1] Sozomen, ii. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 1.
[3] *Vide* 'Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,' series II. vol. ii. p. 234.
[4] *Vide* pp. 121 f.

and became a reader at Constantinople. He wrote, in two books, a compendium of the history of the times covered by Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, in a tripartite history, in which they are literally repeated. He then wrote a supplementary history, in two books, extending to the year 518, only portions of which have been preserved.

6. A seventh historian may be mentioned here, for convenience, the Syrian *Evagrius*, born in 536. He was thoroughly trained in the schools of grammar and rhetoric, and practised law in Antioch. His history, in six books, extends from 431 to 594, and is written from an orthodox point of view.

These Greek historians, so far as preserved, were printed and published by Valesius in three folio volumes, which have appeared in many editions, the earliest being that of Paris, 1659, and the best that of Cambridge, 1720. There were several other historians in the early Church, among them *Philip of Side*,[1] but all were of minor importance.

7. *Leontius of Byzantium, the adviser of Justinian, was the chief scholar produced by the school of Constantinople. He used the Aristotelian dialectic, and gave the final Christological solution for the Eastern Church.*

Leontius of Byzantium († 543) is supposed to have been born in Constantinople of a good family. His titles of *scholasticus* and *advocatus* imply that he was a trained scholar, as indeed his work shows. He was probably educated in the schools of Constantinople. At all events he exhibits the characteristics of that school. He was at first a Nestorian, but was converted from that error. He went to Rome in 519, and then to Jerusalem, where he remained for some time as a monk. In 531 he went to Constantinople to take part in theological discussions.

[1] *Vide* p. 100.

What the great Cappadocians had done for the Nicene Creed, Leontius did for the Chalcedonian Symbol. His explanation removed the most serious difficulty in the way of its acceptance.[1] In philosophy Leontius was an Aristotelian. He was the first to use the Aristotelian dialectic in the interest of dogmatic; and so with him began the Byzantine scholasticism. He was, as Harnack says, 'the most important dogmatic writer of the sixth century, the forerunner of John of Damascus, the teacher of (the emperor) Justinian,' 'the father of the new Christological orthodoxy.'[2] The most important of the works ascribed to Leontius are: a Solution of the Syllogisms proposed by Severus, and polemic writings against the Nestorians and Eutychians, against Severus, and against the Apollinarians. The last-named treatise, according to Loofs, is 'a masterpiece of patristic learning, possibly, though by no means certainly, from the same hand.'[3]

The Emperor Justinian († 565) strove to rally the different parties about the formula of Chalcedon by various interpretations of it, but in vain. He sought to force through the Christological interpretation of Leontius; and he finally succeeded, though only for the Greek and Latin, not for the Oriental world. He persecuted the school of Alexandria, the Origenists, on the one side, and the school of Antioch, in the writings of Theodoret and Ibas, on the other. Finally by his imperial authority he closed the philosophical and juridical schools of Athens. All independent scholarship became discredited throughout the eastern empire, and an imperial traditional orthodoxy, based on the decision of the œcumenical councils, became dominant in the Greek Church for all subsequent times.

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 308 *seq.*
[2] Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, p. 217.
[3] Loofs, 'Leontius,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

8. *Scholarship declined in the East in the seventh century, revived in the eighth in John of Damascus, and then declined again during the long conflict over the worship of images.*

The eighth and ninth centuries were, in the East, centuries of battle over the use of images in worship. Few scholars appear, and only one of great value ; but he is of great importance, the last of the Greek fathers, *John of Damascus* († *c.* 759-767). His birthplace is not known. His family were Christian, and his father held an important position in Damascus under the Moslem rule. John received his higher education under the poet Cosmas, an Italian monk, to whom he owed his knowledge of philosophy and science, as well as of the higher theology. He became himself a monk (*c.* 730) at Mar Saba, near Jerusalem. Not long afterward, John, the patriarch of Jerusalem († 735), ordained him a presbyter. The general attitude of John of Damascus is that of the school of Constantinople ; and so he is the normal theologian of the Greek Church. Theophanes states that he was called *Chrysorrhoas, Stream of Gold,*[1] ' because of that grace of the spirit which shines like gold both in his doctrine and in his life.' [2]

He wrote a great work entitled the *Fountain of Knowledge*, comprising (1) *Philosophical Chapters*, (2) a compendium on *Heresies*, (3) *An Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith.* The latter was divided into four books treating : (1) of God and the Trinity, (2) of creation and the nature of man, (3) of Christ and His incarnation, death, and descent into Hades, (4) of the resurrection and reign of Christ, including the rest of theology. John agrees essentially with Leontius, and uses the Aristotelian philosophy, logic and method. He is the great scholastic

[1] Literally, 'pouring forth gold.'
[2] *Vide* Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 583, citing Theophanes, *Chron. ad ann.* 734.

theologian of the East, and was also of wide and long influence in the West. He is for the East what Thomas Aquinas is for the West, and as a doctor of the universal Church holds an even higher position. His other works include three Orations on Images, homilies, dogmatic and controversial treatises, and hymns. He ranks as the greatest hymn writer of the Greek Church. He is said to have written 'a great part of the *Octœchus*, which contains the Sunday services of the Eastern Church';[1] also 'the golden canon,' which is sung at midnight on Easter Eve, and begins with a cry of joy: 'Christ is risen,' and an answering shout: 'Christ is risen indeed.'

The controversy over image-worship was fatal to the study of theology. The Emperor Leo, the Isaurian (716-741), in his ignorant zeal for reform, 'disendowed the imperial academy of Constantinople,' and 'ejected the Œcumenical Doctor at its head' together with his twelve assistants. He is said to have burnt the academy with its valuable library, but this is improbable. There is sufficient evidence that education in grammar, rhetoric and philosophy continued, but 'the schools of theology were suppressed.'[2]

[1] Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, iv. p. 406.
[2] Sandys, i. p. 396; cf. Finlay, *History of Greece*, ii. 44; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 433 *seq.*

CHAPTER V

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE WEST IN THE THIRD CENTURY

1. *The study of theology in the West until the middle of the third century was chiefly in the Greek language, not only in Rome, but also in distant Gaul, where were the principal centres of education at the beginning of the century.*

The literature of the early Church was in the Greek language. The Bible used by the early Christians, not only in Alexandria, but all over the Roman world, was the Greek version of the Old Testament.[1] The writings of the apostles were circulated in Greek. The works of the great Christian teachers of this early period were all in Greek, so far as preserved. It is therefore natural that Greek should have remained for a time the language of Christian scholarship even in the West. The greater Christian teachers, in the West as in the East, had for the most part studied and taught in the grammar and rhetorical schools of the Roman Empire, before their conversion; and not a few had been trained in the universities. These brought over with them into Christianity the Greek methods of instruction, and, combining them with Hebrew methods, produced a mixed Christian system of grammar and rhetorical schools.

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 190.

2. *Latin influence was exerted in the Church chiefly through Roman Law and methods of administration, which made Rome the centre of Church government and discipline.*

This very situation, however, was provocative of conflicts within the Church, especially in Rome; and the West during the third and fourth centuries was distracted by numerous schisms, due not so much to doctrinal differences, as to practical differences in church discipline, so that the ecclesiastical lawyer became more important than the doctrinal theologian.

In the first half of the century the popes were not men of ability, intellectually, morally, or as executives. From Zephyrinus to Fabian (199-250) all were lax in discipline as regards both faith and morals. In striving after peace and quiet they kept to a middle course, which could not satisfy any of the contending factions.

Victor, near the close of the previous century, had condemned the Adoptionist, Theodotus of Byzantium, and his school. But the Modalistic doctrine of the Trinity, coming from Asia in the person of Praxeas, was tolerated at Rome, though condemned at Carthage. So also, while Noetus was condemned at Smyrna, the Modalists established themselves at Rome under his pupil Epigonus, who was followed by Cleomenes, and finally by Sabellius. The strictly orthodox as to morals and faith, whose leader was Hippolytus, were outraged at the laxity of the popes. They finally separated, and made Hippolytus antipope. Thus at last they compelled Calixtus to action, and Sabellius and his party were condemned.

The earliest list of the minor orders is in a letter written by Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antioch in 251. It includes, with bishops, presbyters and deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers and doorkeepers. Those who would become presbyters and bishops were obliged to ascend through these lower

grades, with practical training in each, before they could rise higher. In cases of necessity, or with candidates of unusual ability, there might be an ordination *per saltum*; but the custom was, that a considerable time should be spent in each of the lower orders. According to Drane, 'the author of the *Philosophumena* acquaints us with the fact that Pope Calixtus I. established a school of theology at Rome, which appears from his account to have been crowded with disciples.' [1]

3. *The Canon of the New Testament became fixed in Rome by the close of the second century, as the Muratorian fragment of that date attests.*

The first layer of the New Testament Canon, consisting of the four Gospels, had won universal recognition in the Church prior to Justin, who cites them as authoritative,[2] and represents that they were read in the churches by the side of the Old Testament Prophets; and to Tatian, who compacted them together in his *Diatessaron*, which was used in the Syrian churches for generations.

The second layer of the Canon, containing the Pauline Epistles and the Acts, had gained general recognition by the close of the second century. The Epistle to the Hebrews was included in this layer in the East, but not in the West. These two layers are recognised in the *Doctrine of Addai*,[3] which gives the primitive usage of the church of Edessa.

The third layer of the Canon, comprising the Catholic Epistles and the Book of Revelation, remained for some time open to discussion, and gained recognition very gradually. The first Epistles of Peter and John were received by common consent in the second century; the other books were disputed.[4]

[1] Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 11.
[2] Justin, *Apology*, i. 66, 67; *Dialogue with Trypho*, 49, 100.
[3] *Doctrine of Addai*, p. 46.
[4] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 134.

4. *The chief Roman theologian at the opening of the third century was Hippolytus, who was, however, a pupil of Irenæus. He shows a comprehensive knowledge of the entire field of theology. His writings are in the Greek language, and are exegetical, historical, dogmatic, polemic, and practical. He is especially to be valued for his historic investigations and his codification of church law.*

The writings of *Hippolytus* († *c.* 236) may all be placed in the period from 200 to 235; and he may therefore be assigned to the third century, although he was born presumably in the third quarter of the second century. He was one of the Roman presbyters under Pope Zephyrinus (199-217), and was a pupil of Irenæus [1] in Lyons before settling in Rome. Jerome declares that Hippolytus, in one of his sermons, implies that he is 'speaking in the church in the presence of Origen.' [2] He came into conflict with Pope Calixtus, chiefly with reference to matters of discipline, and became an antipope at the head of a schismatic church. This position he seems to have retained until his exile to Sardinia with Pope Pontianus in 235, when a reconciliation took place. In this exile a year or two later he died. By the Church of Rome he is regarded as a saint. His statue was discovered at Rome in 1551, and has been assigned by experts to the third century. It contains a list of his numerous writings. Still others are mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome. He wrote: (1) from fifteen to twenty exegetical works, including commentaries, especially on Genesis, the Psalms, Isaiah, Daniel, Matthew, and the Apocalypse, and on various passages of Holy Scripture. (2) Several polemic works against pagans, Jews and heretics, the chief of which is the so-called *Philosophumena*, the Refutation of All Heresies. In these writings he carries on the work of Justin and Irenæus. (3) Several dogmatic monographs, especially

[1] Photius, cod. 121. [2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 61.

on Christ and Antichrist, and on the Resurrection. (4) A treatise concerning Easter, and a Chronicle down to the last year of Alexander Severus, giving also lists of bishops. (5) The most important contribution of Hippolytus was to Church Law. This was probably the result of his conflicts with the popes. These works are mentioned on the statue list, but they have not been preserved in their original form. The most important were, *On Charismatic Gifts*, and canons of Church government and discipline. These were worked over and incorporated in several different collections of Church Orders, including the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*, preserved in Arabic, the *Apostolic Constitutions*,[1] the *Testamentum Domini*, and the *Egyptian Church Order*. These canons give rules for ordination, the catechumenate, baptism, the Eucharist, fasts, oblations, the love feast, the healing of the sick, daily worship and the religious life.

5. *The chief Latin scholars of the third century were from North Africa, and the earliest of these was Tertullian. He was a Roman lawyer when converted to Christianity; and he introduced into the study of theology a legal terminology, and so gave Latin theology a legal type, which has continued until the present time. His writings cover many subjects, chiefly polemical, doctrinal or practical. He seems to have had neither the exegetical nor the historical spirit.*

Tertullian (*c.* 155-222) was born at Carthage, and was the son of a proconsular centurion. He was trained in Roman law schools, and subsequently practised law, both at Rome and at Carthage. Whether he is identical with the civil lawyer of that name and of the same period, who is of some repute in the history of Roman law, is doubtful. Soon after the conversion of Tertullian to

[1] *Apostolic Constitutions*, Bk. VIII.

Christianity (*c.* 195) he was made a presbyter at Carthage, but between the years 202 and 207, under impulses similar to those that moved Hippolytus, he became schismatic and a leader of the African Montanists. Jerome says that he was 'driven' out of the orthodox church 'by the envy and abuse' of the Roman clergy; and that he was 'said to have lived to a decrepit old age.' [1]

Tertullian had extraordinary culture; but he was, like Hippolytus, a rigid disciplinarian, and as such too thoroughly Roman to be thoroughly Christian. Doubtless his training by a military father tended to give him this stiffness and sternness of character, which shows in all his writings. 'Miserrimus ego!' he cries, 'always burning with the fever of impatience.' [2] Jerome calls him 'a man of keen and vigorous character.' [3] He was a polemic divine, an intellectual fighter of great ability and power. His *Apologeticus* is distinguished for its exposure of the illegality of the proceedings against Christianity, and the reproach cast by such proceedings upon all the principles of law. His address *Ad nationes* is a passionate and bitter attack on heathenism. His work *Adversus Judæos* shows that the Jews have forfeited the divine grace by their own fault, and that the Christians have taken their place in the covenant of God. *De præscriptione hæreticorum* brings the heretics to the court of catholic authority, and shows that they have no case. *Adversus Marcionem* is a thoroughly scorching attack and refutation. The work *Adversus Hermogenem* was written against the philosophical opinion of the eternity of matter; *Adversus Valentinianos* and *Scorpiace* against Gnosticism in various forms; *Adversus Praxeam* against a Monarchian in his doctrine of the Trinity. Tertullian also wrote dogmatic monographs: *De carne Christi*, *De anima*, and *De resurrectione carnis*. A very

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 53.
[2] Tertullian, *De patientia*, 1.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 53.

important section of his writings relates to Christian morals and discipline. The earliest of these works were addressed to catechumens : *De baptismo*, *De pœnitentia*, *De oratione*. He then wrote, for more mature Christians, a treatise, *De patientia*. Later came his attacks on vices : *De spectaculis*, *De idololatria*, *De cultu feminarum* ; then an exhortation *Ad martyres* ; and those *Ad uxorem*, *De exhortatione castitatis*, *De monogamia*, all expressing strict views as to marriage and the profession of virginity. Other works, *De corona militis*, *De fuga in persecutione*, *De virginibus velandis*, *De jejunio adversus psychicos*, *De pudicitia*, were directed against lax discipline in the Roman Church. Tertullian, as the earliest prominent Christian who wrote in Latin, laid the foundation of Latin Christian literature, and gave to Latin theology much of its terminology for all time. Jerome says that Tertullian was regarded as ' chief of the Latin writers after Victor and Apollonius,' that his works were ' well known to most,' [1] and that, while they are ' packed with meaning, his style is rugged and uncouth.' [2]

6. *The next great Latin scholar, Cyprian, was a teacher of rhetoric at Carthage before he was converted ; and he shows his rhetorical experience in his style of writing. He was a bishop, and as such an ecclesiastic ; and his writings are chiefly practical and ecclesiastical in character.*

Cyprian (*c.* 210-258) was born at Carthage of a family of wealth and influence, and was won to Christianity by a presbyter, Cæcilius. He was baptized in 246, was soon ordained a presbyter, and then a bishop (*c.* 248). His episcopate was in troubled times of persecution. He escaped the Decian persecution by flight, but suffered martyrdom under Valerian.

Cyprian had a short episcopate of scarcely ten years, and a Christian life of only twelve ; yet he accomplished

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 53. [2] Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 10.

much, both as a bishop and as a writer. Like Hippolytus, his greatest service was in the department of Church government and discipline. He also was involved in questions of discipline and ecclesiastical law in controversy with the Roman pope, especially as to the limitation of the papal prerogative and as to the question of heretical baptism. His most important works are: (1) *De lapsis*, written after the Decian persecution, in which he makes the restoration of the lapsed to Christian fellowship dependent on confession and the practice of severe penance; (2) *De catholicæ ecclesiæ unitate*, occasioned by schisms at Carthage and Rome, a fundamental work as to Church unity; (3) *De opere et eleemosynis*, *De bono patientiæ*, *De zelo et livore*, all urging to forbearance and brotherly love; and (4) *Ad Quirinum testimoniorum libri III*, a dogmatic treatise, showing first the displacement of Jews by Christians, second the Messiahship of Jesus, and third the principles of Christian morals. The letters of Cyprian are a thesaurus for Church government and discipline, and for the Christian life. Sixty-six of the letters written by him have been preserved, also fifteen of those written to him. The questions discussed are such as these: How is a bishop to deal with a refractory deacon; the treatment of the lapsed; the ordination of a presbyter, a reader, a subdeacon; the expulsion of schismatics from church communion; the use of water for wine at the Eucharist; the baptism of children; whether a lapsed bishop should retain his office; the restoration of deposed bishops by Stephen of Rome; the validity of heretical baptism and of clinical baptism. Jerome remarks:

'The blessed Cyprian, like a fountain of pure water, flows softly and sweetly; but, as he is taken up with exhortations to virtue, and with the troubles consequent on persecution, he has nowhere discussed the Divine Scriptures.'[1]

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 10.

About the name of Cyprian have gathered many writings to which he had no claim. As to those which are undoubtedly his, Krüger remarks :

'All of Cyprian's literary works were written in connection with his episcopal office ; almost all of his treatises and many of his letters have the character of pastoral epistles, and their form occasionally betrays the fact that they were intended as addresses. These writings are pervaded by a moderate, clear-sighted, and gentle spirit. Cyprian possessed none of that character which makes the reading of Tertullian so interesting and piquant, but he had other qualities instead, which the latter had not, more especially the art of presenting his thoughts in simple, smooth and clear language, with a certain completeness of form, a style which was not wanting, on this account, in warmth and persuasive power.' [1]

Jerome says that he was famous first as a teacher of rhetoric, and that it was unnecessary to 'catalogue the works of his genius, since they are more conspicuous than the sun.' [2]

7. *The chief Roman scholar of the second half of the third century was Novatian, a man of the same type as Hippolytus, who, in his zeal for orthodoxy and strict discipline, also organised a schism and became an antipope. He had a rhetorical and philosophical training, a fine literary style, and great ability as a dogmatic writer and a practical theologian.*

The Roman bishops of the third quarter of the third century were men of some ability as executives. They were lax in discipline so far as doctrine and morals were concerned, but all the more stern and autocratic in the maintenance of their own authority. Hence arose conflicts, not only at Rome, but also with churches in other parts of the world. Stephen (254-257) came into conflict with African and Eastern bishops as regards heretical baptism. His predecessor Cornelius (251-253),

[1] Krüger, *Hist. Christ. Lit.*, p. 282. [2] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 67.

and his successors, Sixtus II. (257-258), Dionysius (259-268), and Felix (269-274), were all men of the same type.

Novatian was a philosopher before his conversion, and had doubtless been trained in rhetorical and philosophical schools, and probably had also studied law. He was the theological successor of Hippolytus, and may have been influenced by him personally. He was ordained a presbyter of the Roman Church, probably by Fabian; but not without opposition from the laxer party. Duchesne [1] suggests that he may have been at the head of a school of lectors in Rome, similar to the catechetical school at Alexandria, and so with functions like those of the 'teacher-presbyters' to which Cyprian refers.[2] The followers of Hippolytus had united with the Roman Church after his death and that of the bishop Pontianus; but the strife still continued, and Novatian became the recognised leader of the stricter set. After the death of Fabian, when Cornelius was chosen pope, Novatian was made antipope (251), and the schism of Hippolytus was revived on a larger scale, extending, with the help of the Donatist schism in Africa, all over the West. The writings of Novatian have been current until recent times under other names; because, as a schismatic, he became discredited in the Church. His chief work is *De trinitate*, the only [3] presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity in the West before Augustine, the most important and complete dogmatic monograph, and the nearest approach to a system of doctrine, in that it was based on the Roman creed. Jerome calls it 'a great volume ... a sort of epitome of the work of Tertullian, which many mistakenly ascribe to Cyprian.'[4] He mentions a number of other genuine works on moral and ecclesiastical subjects, which are lost. He ascribes to Novatian an original

[1] Duchesne, i. p. 325.
[2] Cyprian, *Ep.* xxix. (xxiii.).
[3] Except that of Hilary, see p. 168.
[4] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 70.

literary style,[1] and Cyprian, his opponent, implies that he was a man of philosophical training and rhetorical ability.[2] Recent critics assign to Novatian a large number of writings on practical subjects. Harnack finds six among those wrongly ascribed to Cyprian, including, with the above-mentioned work on the Trinity, *De spectaculis*, *De bono pudicitiæ*, *Adversus Judæos*, *De laude martyrii*, *Quod idola dii non sint*.

8. *The next African writer was Arnobius, a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca, in Africa, before he became a Christian.*

The dates of *Arnobius* are uncertain. Jerome mentions him in his Chronicle for the year 326-7, and states elsewhere that he was 'a most successful teacher of rhetoric at Sicca, in Africa, during the reign of Diocletian.'[3] It is probable that he was born before the middle of the third century. His writings are few. The principal one was *Adversus nationes*, written at the close of the third century, or early in the fourth. It is the work of a rhetorician who had a smattering of philosophy, and is of no great value. Jerome says that it was to be 'found everywhere'; but condemns the author as 'lengthy and unequal, and often confused from not making a proper division of his subject.'[4] The chief significance of Arnobius is, that he was the teacher of Lactantius.

9. *Lactantius was a pupil of Arnobius, and taught himself as professor of rhetoric in Nicomedia, where he seems to have become a Christian. His writings are distinguished for their elegance of style, so that he has been called the Christian Cicero. They are chiefly dogmatic and polemic in character.*

Lactantius (*c.* 260-340) was probably born in Africa. He was 'a disciple of Arnobius,' and acquired such fame

[1] Jerome, *Contra Rufinum*, ii. 19.
[2] Cyprian, *Ep.* lv. (li.) 24.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 79.
[4] Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 10.

as a teacher of rhetoric, that Diocletian 'summoned (him) to Nicomedia with Flavius the grammarian'[1] to give instruction there (*c.* 285). At the beginning of the Diocletian persecution (303) he was still a professor in Nicomedia,[2] and remained there at least two years longer. He was a Christian at that time, and suffered for his faith in the loss of his position and his popularity as a teacher.[3] At a later time he went to Trèves (Gaul); and 'in his extreme old age, he was,' according to Jerome, 'tutor to Crispus Cæsar, a son of Constantine.' His principal writings are: *De opificio Dei* (*c.* 304), a treatise on divine Providence, based on the beauty and adaptability of the human body; and *Divinæ institutiones* (305-311), an apology for the Christian religion, 'the most complete of all Christian Apologies,'[4] but by no means the best. Jerome says:

'Lactantius has a flow of eloquence worthy of Tully: would that he had been as ready to teach our doctrines as he was to pull down those of others!'[5]

10. *Styria, at the close of the century, presents to us Victorinus, the bishop of Pettau, who fell a martyr in the Diocletian persecution. He is the first exegete of the Latin Church. He composed commentaries on at least ten books of the Bible.*

Little is known of *Victorinus*; and, so far as any evidence goes, his life cannot be comprehended in any exact historical framework. His commentaries have all been lost, except so far as they appear in the works of his successors. Jerome says that Victorinus was 'not equally familiar with Latin and Greek. On this account his works, though noble in thought, are inferior in style.' 'Although he has the glory of a martyr's crown, yet (he)

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 80.
[2] Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, v. 2, 11.
[3] *Vide* Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 415 *seq.*
[4] Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 312.
[5] Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 10.

cannot express what he knows.'[1] However, the influence of his Biblical work must have been very great upon his successors in the Latin Church, whose commentaries have superseded his.

11. *The historical work of the third century consisted chiefly of the Acts of martyrs, of which a considerable number was published; and in historical romances relating to the apostles and their associates.*

The genuine *Acta martyrum* of the early Church are based upon the *Acta proconsularia*, the court records of the Roman empire. The most ancient Acts are in the form of letters. Among those mentioned by Eusebius are: the letter of the Smyrnæans already cited, telling of the death of Polycarp; one from the churches of Lyons and Vienne, relating their sufferings in the persecution of 177; and the report of Dionysius of Alexandria to Fabias of Antioch concerning the Decian persecution.[2] There are accounts of the sufferings of North African martyrs among Cyprian's letters.[3] Other Acts are in the narrative form. The most important of those from the second century are the *Acta Justini*, the *Acta Carpi, Papyli, et Agathonicæ*, the *Passio sanctorum Scillitanorum* and the *Acta Apollonii*; from the third century, the *Passio Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, those of Pionius, Cyprian and others. Eusebius gives an account of the sufferings of the Christians of Palestine in the Diocletian persecution, early in the fourth century, in what is now an appendix to the eighth book of his Church History.[4]

Of the historical romances produced at this time the most important were the so-called *Clementina*, a group of writings comprising the *Clementine Homilies*, *Recognitions* and *Epitome*, supposed to have been written by

[1] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 74; *Ep.* lviii. 10.
[2] *Vide* Eusebius, iv. 15; v. 1-3; vi. 41-42.
[3] Cyprian, *Epp.* 20, 21, 22, 27, 39, 40, etc.
[4] *Vide* 'Acta Martyrum,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

Clement of Rome, and picturing him as a disciple of the apostle Peter and the companion of his travels.

12. *The Western Church, by the close of the third century, had a canon of Holy Scripture and a considerable number of commentaries upon it; a rule of faith, in the Apostles' Creed; numerous apologetic, dogmatic and ethical treatises; and canons of government and discipline.*

A large number of discussions upon special topics had been written by this time in the Western Church; and a considerable amount of historical material had been collected, which required to be sifted, in order that fact might be discriminated from fiction, and real history from its traditional embellishment.

CHAPTER VI

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE WEST IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

THE West, in all parts where the Roman authority prevailed, had grammar and rhetorical schools; but only one university, and that in Rome, for the study of law and philosophy. Public teachers were appointed by the State, and their office was one of privilege and honour. Private teaching also was encouraged. In Gaul every important city was obliged to provide public instruction, and the salaries to be given were fixed by law. The chief Christian teachers in the West were trained in the grammar and rhetorical schools; and some of them also in philosophy and law.

1. *Hosius of Cordova is the first great theologian of this period. He was the chief adviser of Constantine for many years, and was largely responsible for the terminology of the Nicene Faith.*

Hosius (*c.* 257-357) was a highly educated man, but when and how educated is not known. He became bishop of Cordova, Spain, in 295. He is said to have been 'the most highly distinguished of all those who assembled at the Council of Nice,' where he appeared as 'the venerable Hosius, one worthy of all honour and respect, on account of his advanced age, his adherence to the faith, and his labours for the Church.'[1] Constantine 'greatly loved this man, and held him in the

[1] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 6.

highest estimation.'[1] But under Constantius, Hosius suffered at the hands of the Arians. Athanasius writes in his Apology :[2]

'It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, that aged and faithful confessor of the faith, for every one knows that he also was sent into banishment. Of all the bishops he is the most illustrious. What council can be mentioned in which he did not preside, and convince all present by the power of his reasoning? What church does not still retain the glorious memorials of his protection? Did any one ever go to him sorrowing, and not leave him rejoicing? Who ever asked his aid, and did not obtain all that he desired? Yet they had the boldness to attack this great man, simply because, from his knowledge of the impiety of their calumnies, he refused to affix his signature to their artful accusations against us.'

The only writings of Hosius now extant are letters to Pope Julius explaining the Nicene Creed, and to the Emperor Constantius, declining to abandon it.

2. *Hilary of Poitiers, the Athanasius of the West, was the chief theologian of the first half of the fourth century.*

Hilary (†367) was born at Poitiers in Gaul at an unknown date, and became bishop of Poitiers before 355. He was led to the Christian faith by the study of philosophy. His early training was Latin, and included an acquaintance with the works of Tertullian, Cyprian and Novatian; but during his exile in Asia Minor (356-360) he studied Greek and came under the influence of the writings of Origen, especially in exegesis. He was one of the earliest Biblical exegetes of the Western Church. His commentary on Matthew was written before his exile, his work on the Psalms towards the close of his life. During his exile he wrote his two principal works, *De trinitate* (in twelve books) and *De synodis*. He was chiefly interested in doctrine even in his commentaries, and used the methods of the Alexandrian school. To

[1] Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 6, 7.
[2] § 4, 5; *vide* Theodoret, ii. 12.

him, faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ was 'the foundation of the Church.' 'This faith holdeth the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' In defence of the apostolic truth, and the rights of the Church and the conscience, Hilary bore a sharp sword.[1] Jerome calls him 'that master of eloquence,' and says that his commentaries give 'some idea of the study which our Latins also, in former days, have bestowed upon the Holy Scriptures.'[2]

Jerome[3] ascribes to him a book of hymns, and, according to Isidore of Seville: *hymnorum carmine floruit primus.*[4] The morning hymn, *Lucis largitor splendide,* is the best known of those current under his name.

3. *Tychonius, a Donatist of Africa, was an excellent scholar, chiefly important for his seven rules of interpretation, which influenced subsequent Biblical scholarship.*

Tychonius is said to have been 'sufficiently learned in sacred literature, not wholly unacquainted with secular literature, and zealous in ecclesiastical affairs.' His birth, life and death are all uncertain; but he is supposed to have 'flourished during the reign of Theodosius and his sons.'[5]

Tychonius influenced both Jerome and Augustine, who used his '*Rules for investigating and ascertaining the meaning of the Scriptures.*' These rules have to do chiefly with the substance of Scripture. They are:

(1) Of the Lord and His body; (2) Of the twofold division of the Lord's body; (3) Of the promises and the law; (4) Of species and genus; (5) Of the times; (6) Of recapitulation; (7) Of the devil and his body.[6]

Tychonius himself made use of these rules in a commentary on the Book of Revelation, in which he regarded

[1] *Vide* Semisch, in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie,* 1880, Bd. vi. pp. 418 *seq.*
[2] Jerome, Preface to his Translation of Origen on St. Luke.
[3] Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 100. [4] Isidore, *De eccl. offic.*, i. 6.
[5] Gennadius, *De illustribus ecclesiæ scriptoribus,* 18.
[6] Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture,* p. 449.

'nothing in a carnal sense, but all in a spiritual sense.' [1] This work is no longer extant, except so far as it has been incorporated in the writings of other commentators.

Burkitt says of Tychonius:

'His aim was to find general rules of interpretation, which would cover every case, and which therefore might be applied to the most unpromising subjects and images. Whatever we may think of his results, they certainly seemed to meet the wants of the men of his own time. It is a most extraordinary fact that the Catholic world should have accepted the work of a schismatic as a text-book of exegesis; that it was so accepted is the best testimony to the success of the Book of Rules.' [2]

4. *Ambrose, the great bishop of Milan, was the most eminent ecclesiastic of the fourth century. He is especially important for his liturgical, ecclesiastical, and moral reforms.*

Ambrose (340-397) was born at Trèves, and died at Milan. A Roman by race and education, he was trained for civil affairs as a lawyer and became a 'consular magistrate.' In 374, when only a layman, he was made bishop of Milan by acclamation of the people. The emperor is said to have approved of the election, 'for he knew that the judgment (of Ambrose) was straight and true as the carpenter's rule and his sentence more exact than the beam of the balance.' [3] Ambrose became indeed 'a sort of oracle for the entire West.' [4] He was a student of Greek, and was influenced by Origen and Basil, and yet he was more a man of affairs than a theologian. He says of himself:

'From the judgment-seat and the garb of office was I carried off to enter on the priesthood, and I began to teach you what I myself had not yet learned. So it happened that I began to

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[1] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 18.
[2] Burkitt, 'The Rules of Tyconius,' in *Texts and Studies*, III. i. p. xiii.
[3] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 6.
[4] Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, ii. pp. 549 *seq.*

teach before I began to learn. Therefore I must learn and teach at the same time.' [1]

However, he became noted as a preacher, and he wrote much :

'Sermons on the Bible, . . . funeral orations, hymns and liturgical commentaries, theological dissertations against Arianism, upon the divinity of the Holy Spirit, upon the Incarnation, moral exhortations upon the duty of clerics, upon the profession of virginity, letters upon the questions which were submitted each day to his experience.' [2]

His work *De officiis ministrorum* is of special importance for the history of theological scholarship.

Augustine bears witness to the eloquence of Ambrose as a preacher, and ascribes to him his own conversion, saying :

'To him was I unknowing led by Thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to Thee. That man of God received me as a father. . . . From that time I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the truth . . . but as a person kind towards myself. And diligently did I listen to him preaching to the people, not with that intent I ought, but, as it were, testing his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof ; . . . and I was delighted with the sweetness of his discourse.' [3]

Again Augustine praises that

'excellent steward of God, whom I venerate as a father ; for "in Christ Jesus he begat me through the Gospel," and through him, as the minister of Christ, I received "the washing of regeneration" ;—I mean the blessed Ambrose, whose graces, constancy, labours, perils for the Catholic faith, whether in words or works, I have both myself experienced, and the whole Roman world hesitates not to proclaim with me.' [4]

Ambrose made a great reform in public worship, especially in the music, and gave to the church of Milan a revised liturgy. He followed the Syrian Church in the

[1] Ambrose, *On the Duties of the Clergy*, I. i. 4.
[2] Duchesne, *Hist. de l'Égl.*, ii. p. 557.
[3] Augustine, *Confessions*, v. 13, 14.
[4] Augustine, *Contra Julianum*, i. 10.

use of melody in singing, and adopted the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixo-Lydian keys of the musical system of Greece, and also responsive choirs. Paulinus testifies that at this time 'antiphons, hymns, and vigils began to be performed in the church of Milan, and had spread thence amongst all the churches of the West.' [1] Ambrose followed the great Syrian teachers in composing hymns as well as music for the use of his people in public worship. Among the few hymns which were undoubtedly written by him are the morning hymn, *Æterne rerum conditor*, and its companion the evening song, *Deus creator omnium.*

5. *The most eminent Biblical scholar of the fourth century was Jerome, who gave to the Western Church its Latin Bible, and by his commentaries and method influenced the West for centuries.*

Jerome (*c.* 330-420) was born at Stridon, Dalmatia, and studied at Rome, 'in the schools of heathen philosophy,' with the grammarian Donatus and the rhetorician Victorinus. He writes: 'In my younger days I was carried away by a great passion for learning.' [2] Rufinus charges him with boasting that he had been 'versed and trained from infancy to old age in the schools of rhetoric and philosophy.' [3] But he also felt the influence of Christian Rome, and in 360 was baptized by Liberius. He then went to Gaul, and spent some time at Trèves, an important centre of learning for the West. Here he was called to the ascetic life; and when, some years later, at Aquileia he met with Rufinus, he became the leader of a group of young ascetics. The following year (*c.* 373) he set out for the Holy Land by way of Thrace and Asia Minor. Reaching Antioch, he was detained there for some months by serious illness. In the course

[1] Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambros.*, 13.
[2] Jerome, *Ep.* 84.
[3] Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 29.

of his fever he had a dream which led him to give up for a time the use of all 'heathen books,' and to devote himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Upon his recovery he retired for five years to the Syrian desert. At this time he began the study of Hebrew; and when his weakened frame proved unequal to the hardships of a hermit's life, he entered upon a course of study with some of the greatest Christian teachers of his day. 'At Antioch (he) frequently listened to Apollinaris of Laodicea, and attended his lectures,' receiving of him instruction in the Holy Scriptures.[1] About the year 379 he was ordained a presbyter by Paulinus; yet, on leaving Antioch for Constantinople, he sought a second teacher of exegesis in Gregory Nazianzen, who made him an admirer of Origen. At a later time he was accused of having 'done more than any one else to form a collection of Origen's books'; and admitted the charge, saying: 'Indeed, these Alexandrian writings have emptied my purse,' and 'I only wish I could have the works of all theological writers, that by diligent study of them I might make up for the slowness of my own wits.'[2]

From Constantinople Jerome went to Rome, where his ability was recognised by Pope Damasus, and he became an authority upon the Bible. The pope encouraged him to make a new Latin version of the Scriptures on the basis of the Hebrew and Greek texts; and for three years he was chiefly engaged in this work, remaining in Rome until after the death of his patron. He became the centre of a group of Roman women of noble birth, whom he inspired with his ideals of holy living and of the supreme importance of the study of the Scriptures. Under his guidance they formed communities, which were widely influential in promoting the spread of monastic ideals among women. In the year 385 Jerome

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* 84. [2] *Ibid.*

left Rome for the East. Visiting Alexandria, he spent a month with the venerable Didymus, who may be regarded as his third Greek teacher.[1] Didymus was in some respects the opposite of Apollinaris. 'The squadrons of the two leaders dragged (Jerome) in different directions'; yet he 'acknowledged both as (his) masters.'[2] He finally settled at Bethlehem, in a monastic establishment, and devoted himself to the translation and interpretation of the Bible, extending his studies in Hebrew with the help of a learned Jew. But 'Oh what trouble and expense it cost to get Bar Anina to teach' him, for this master proved 'a second edition of Nicodemus.' 'Through fear of the Jews' he would only teach 'under cover of night.'[3] Jerome is described as at this time 'forever immersed in his studies and his books; neither day nor night does he take any rest; he is forever occupied with reading or writing.'[4] He had returned to his studies in 'heathen books.' Rufinus reproaches him for calling himself a Ciceronian, and speaking of 'our Tully,' 'our Flaccus,' 'our Maro,' and declares that he 'not only reads (such works) and owns them, not only copies them and collates them, but inserts them among the words of Scripture itself, and in discourses intended for the edification of the Church.' As for the Greek writers, 'he scatters their names around him like a vapour or halo.'[5] Jerome was, indeed, as he himself claimed, '*philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, hebræus, græcus, latinus, trilinguis*';[6] and he made use of all his attainments in the study of the Sacred Writings. He must be regarded as the greatest Biblical scholar of his age, and as second only to Origen in this department of theology. He wrote many commentaries, in which he held to the allegorical method of

[1] *Vide* Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, ii. p. 620.
[2] Jerome, *Ep.* 84.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, I. ix. 5.
[5] Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 7, 8.
[6] Jerome, *Apol. adv. Rufin.*, ii.

the Alexandrians. And yet he had learned something from the Antiochans, for he endeavours to ascertain first of all the sense of the Hebrew original, and studies the context and parallel passages, and also the historical circumstances ; but while he lays stress upon the literal meaning, yet in the end what he seeks is the allegorical sense.[1] His chief service, however, consists in his Latin versions of the Bible. He first revised the Italic version of the New Testament, and his revision was 'willingly received, not only at Rome and in Italy, but gradually throughout the whole West, and has, since that time, always remained in general use in the Latin Church.'[2] Jerome then undertook the revision of the Psalter, and this work became known as the *Psalterium Romanum*. It was adopted in Rome by order of Pope Damasus, was used in all the Roman churches until the sixteenth century, and is still used at Milan, and in Rome at St. Peter's, 'in the recitation of the canonical hours.'[3] His discovery of Origen's *Hexapla* at Cæsarea tempted Jerome to undertake a fresh revision of the Psalter on the basis of that work. The result was the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, so called as having come into general use first in Gaul. It became the common version throughout the West with the exceptions just stated, and is still used in part in Vulgate and Breviary. Finally Jerome undertook a new translation from the Hebrew text of the whole Old Testament, with the help of his teacher, Bar Anina. This work, completed in 405, became the Latin *Vulgate*.[4] 'The text of the *Psalterium Gallicanum* was, however, so deeply rooted in popular use and affection, that the new version was powerless to supersede it.'[5] As for the Apocrypha, the greater part was

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 453.
[2] Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, pp. 459 *seq.*
[3] Bardenhewer, *ibid.*
[4] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 213.
[5] Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 461.

not translated by Jerome, and continued to be read in the old Italic version. The Vulgate is of great value as a version of the early Church, made by one of its chief Biblical scholars, and based upon all the ancient versions gathered in the Hexapla, and upon an unpointed, uninterpreted Hebrew text, in a time when the languages of all these versions were still living tongues. Jerome's work on the Scriptures covered Biblical geography and archæology. His letters are indispensable for the study of Church history; and in *De viris illustribus* he laid the foundation for the study of Patristic. Erasmus exclaims:

'I am moved by the piety of that holy man, of all Christians beyond controversy the most learned and most eloquent.' 'What a fund in him of Roman eloquence, what skill in languages, what a knowledge of antiquity, and of all history, what a retentive memory, what a perfect familiarity with mystic literature, above all, what zeal, what a wonderful inspiration of the divine breath! He is the one person who, at the same time, delights by his eloquence, teaches by his erudition, and ravishes by his holiness.'[1]

Columbanus writes to Gregory the Great:

'I frankly acknowledge to thee, that any one who goes against the authority of St. Hieronymus will be one to be repudiated as a heretic among the churches of the West; for, with regard to the Divine Scriptures, they accommodate their faith in all respects unhesitatingly to him.'[2]

6. *Rufinus is chiefly important for his translation of Origen and Eusebius, and his exposition of the Creed.*

Rufinus (*c.* 345-410) was born at Aquileia, trained in Latin and Greek literature, and baptized at the age of twenty-five or six. He and Jerome were for a time fellow-students, fellow-travellers, and companions in the ascetic life. But Rufinus prolonged his stay in Egypt for six years, 'and again after an interval for two more.' The most of this time was spent, 'where Didymus

[1] Erasmus, *Epp.* 134, 323.
[2] *Vide* Gregory the Great, *Ep.* CXXVII.

lived,' in study under him. Alexandrian influence made of Rufinus an enthusiastic Origenist, whereas Jerome's admiration for Origen and his method was tempered by influences from the Antiochan school. But Rufinus did not confine himself to one teacher. He speaks of others in Alexandria noted for learning and 'in no way inferior' to Didymus, and of 'teachers of the desert, on whom (he) attended frequently and earnestly,' among them Macarius, a disciple of Antony, 'all of them friends of God, who taught (him) those things which they themselves were learning from God.'[1] He grieves that his talents have not done justice to such masters.

Rufinus finally established near Jerusalem a monastic community on the Mount of Olives; and here for a time he renewed his fellowship with Jerome, until the Origenistic controversy brought all friendly intercourse to an end. John of Jerusalem ordained Rufinus a presbyter about the year 390. Seven years later he returned to Rome, where he translated many of the works of Origen into Latin. Finally he retired to his native city, and lived there until shortly before his death. One of his most important works is a translation of Eusebius' *Church History*, in which he compressed the ten books into nine and added two more, continuing the narrative down to the death of Theodosius the Great. He also composed an *Expositio Symboli Apostolici*, which is the chief authority on the Apostles' Creed for the ancient Church. Gennadius declares this work to be 'so excellent that other expositions are regarded as of no account in comparison.' He describes Rufinus as 'not the least among the doctors of the Church,' having 'a fine talent for elegant translation from Greek into Latin. In this way he opened to the Latin-speaking Church the greater part of the Greek literature.'[2]

[1] Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 12.
[2] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 17.

7. *The chief theologian of the early fifth century was Augustine, at first a teacher of rhetoric, then, after his conversion, a great dogmatic and polemic writer, whose influence in the West has been dominant until the present day.*

Augustine (353-430) was born in Numidia, and studied at Tagaste and Madaura in the schools of grammar and rhetoric. At the age of seventeen he went to Carthage for further training in rhetoric, and remained there for three years, becoming 'chief of the rhetorical school.' A youth of strong affections and passions, he was led astray by his fellow-students; but 'the faithful mercy' of God 'hovered over (him) afar.' [1] 'In the ordinary course of study (he) fell upon a certain book of Cicero,' containing 'an exhortation to philosophy,' and called *Hortensius*.

'This book' (he says) 'altered my affections, and turned my prayers to Thyself, O Lord; and made me have other purposes and desires. . . . I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began now to arise, that I might return to Thee. . . . I resolved then to bend my mind to the Holy Scriptures, that I might see what they were. . . . But they seemed to me unworthy to be compared to the stateliness of Tully.' [2]

At this time Augustine came under the influence of Manichæans, and so remained for nine years. He spent his time in teaching rhetoric, at first in Tagaste, then in Carthage, and finally in Rome and Milan. He read 'all the books (he) could procure on the so-called liberal arts,' delighting in them all; and having 'both quickness of understanding and acuteness in discerning,' he understood, 'without much difficulty or any instructor, whatever was written, either on rhetoric, or logic, geometry, music or arithmetic.' [3] At Milan he came under the influence of Ambrose, and was finally converted to Christianity at the age of thirty-three. Returning to

[1] Augustine, *Confessions*, iii. 3.
[2] Augustine, *ibid.*, iii. 4, 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 16.

Africa, he formed a kind of religious community at Tagaste, in which he spent several years. In 391 he was made a presbyter at Hippo, and four years later became the bishop of that church. At Hippo also he led an ascetic life, in close fellowship with his clergy, whom he trained both by precept and by example. His community at Hippo has been described as virtually a theological seminary, 'a training school for the clergy.' 'The excellence and timeliness of this ecclesiastical institution, one of the noblest and most enduring of Augustine's creations, was universally recognised, and its need felt on all sides. The most pious bishops of the African Church openly vied with each other in imitation of Augustine. From all sides came demands for priests out of his seminary.' [1] Augustine, indeed, was not the first to unite his clergy in a religious community. Eusebius had tried the experiment before him at Vercelli, and Ambrose at Milan. But the Vandal invasion, in forcing the African bishops to take refuge in Italy or Gaul, extended the influence of Augustine and the knowledge of his methods; so that, as time went on, his manner of life with his clergy began to be imitated in all parts of the Western Church. Augustine's services to theological scholarship are of inestimable value. He was the greatest scholar of the West after Jerome, and a writer of immense range. Gennadius describes him as 'renowned throughout the world for learning both sacred and secular, unblemished in the faith, pure in life'; the author of 'works so many that they cannot all be gathered. For who is there that can boast himself of having all his works, or who reads with such diligence as to read all that he has written?' [2] In his numerous exegetical works Augustine made special use of the allegorical method, giving to it a more definite form,

[1] Theiner, *Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten*, pp. 11 *seq.*
[2] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 39.

which prevailed in the West till the Reformation. He distinguished four kinds of exegesis: (1) the historical, (2) the ætiological, (3) the analogical, and (4) the allegorical; and he laid down the principle that whatever cannot be referred to good conduct or truth of faith must be regarded as figurative. The ideal which he held before the student is as follows:

'The man who fears God, seeks diligently in Holy Scripture for a knowledge of His will. And when he has become meek through piety, so as to have no love of strife, when furnished also with a knowledge of language so as not to be stopped by unknown words and forms of speech, and with the knowledge of certain necessary objects, so as not to be ignorant of the force and nature of those which are used figuratively; and assisted, besides, by accuracy in the texts, which has been secured by skill and care in the matter of correction;—when thus prepared, let him proceed to the examination and solution of the ambiguities of Scripture.' [1]

Yet Augustine's practice did not accord altogether with his precepts. Like Irenæus and Tertullian, he was dominated by the rule of faith and the authority of the Church, and like the Alexandrians, he made too great a use of the allegorical method. The later Fathers in the Western Church followed his example rather than his precepts.

Augustine was distinguished especially as a dogmatic and polemic divine, writing against Manichæans, Donatists, Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians. Of great importance are his works *De doctrina christiana* and *De trinitate*, and his *Enchiridion*, an exposition of the Creed. To Practical Theology also he contributed works of great value, and his writings include many sermons and ethical treatises, as well as letters and other minor works. His *Retractationes*, written towards the close of his life, review two hundred and thirty-two treatises.

[1] Augustine, *De doctrina*, iii. 15; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 449 *seq.*

Augustine became the greatest authority for the West, and has so remained until the present day. His *Enchiridion* became practically as authoritative as the ancient creeds ; and it went beyond them in the doctrines of sin and salvation, and of faith and love. It exalts the sovereign grace of God, and the lordship of Christ goes into the background. It exalts the saving work of Christ as connected with His death on the cross, and the incarnation goes into the background.

His *City of God* also is epoch-making. It represents the Church as the city of God, the kingdom of God on earth, and the government and worship of the Church as royal institutions. In this work the influence of Roman laws, institutions, and ideals is very apparent.

Augustine's *Confessions* has given shape to the piety of the West until the present time, more especially in the experience of sin and salvation.

8. *The chief opponents of Augustine were the Pelagians : Pelagius himself, Celestius, and Julian, all able and influential theologians.*

Pelagius was born in Britain in the fourth century, but his principal work was in the fifth. It is not known whether he became a monk in his native land, or after his journey to the East. He was an educated man and an ascetic. His Commentary on the Romans manifests his characteristic doctrines. He was especially opposed to Manichæism, which was strong at the time, and in which Augustine had been trained. Original sin and absolute predestination Pelagius denied, asserting the freedom of the human will. As Loofs says : [1]

'He lived, despite his thorough acquaintance with the writing of Paul, in an atmosphere of ascetic morality more akin to the views of Seneca than to those of the great Apostle.'

[1] Loofs, in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, viii. p. 440.

Pelagius spent a considerable time in Rome, and his orthodoxy remained unchallenged until he went to Africa in 411. After seven years of conflict he was banished from Rome by the Emperor Honorius (418), and is last heard of in Palestine that same year.

Celestius, a lawyer of noble birth, was the chief friend and supporter of Pelagius. But *Julian*, bishop of Eclanum, was the principal exponent of Pelagianism in its second stage, after the death of Pelagius. He was born about the year 385, and was thoroughly trained in classical learning and philosophy. He was partly a Stoic, like Pelagius, but chiefly an Aristotelian. His principal works, *Ad Turbantium* and *Ad Florum*, were written in controversy with Augustine. Gennadius describes him as 'a man of vigorous character, learned in the divine Scriptures, and proficient both in Greek and Latin.' [1]

9. *Cassian, the founder of the school of piety at Marseilles in the first quarter of the fifth century, took an intermediate position between Pelagius and Augustine, and so is known as the father of Semi-Pelagianism, or Semi-Augustinianism. He emphasised the study of the Scriptures in the allegorical method.*

Gaul was well endowed with schools of grammar and rhetoric; but for philosophy and law the Gauls went to Rome. The chief Christian teachers of Gaul and Spain were trained in the rhetorical schools. But before the close of the fourth century monastic institutions began to multiply. Jerome and Rufinus, when in Gaul, had exerted an influence in that direction, and Ambrose also when he became bishop of Milan; but the first monasteries of Gaul, so far as known, were those constituted by *Martin* (*c.* 317-398) at Poitiers about the year 370, and at Tours after he became bishop there in 372.

[1] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 46.

Martin was educated at Pavia, and in early manhood came under the influence of Hilary of Poitiers. He acquired an extraordinary reputation for saintliness, and his influence was felt throughout Gaul. Sulpicius Severus, his celebrated disciple, says that Martin as bishop 'remained just what he was before; with the same humbleness of heart, the same meanness of dress, and with a fullness of authority and grace which responded to the dignity of a bishop without infringing on the rule and the virtue of a monk. . . . There were eighty scholars, who were under training after the pattern of their saintly master . . . and what is that city or church which did not covet priests from the monastery of Martin?'[1]

Cassian (*c.* 360-435) was the chief promoter of monasticism in Gaul. He received his monastic training under Germanus, in a cloister at Bethlehem, and afterwards spent nearly ten years with his teacher among the hermits of the Egyptian deserts. He then went to Constantinople, and studied with Chrysostom. When the latter was driven into exile, Cassian went westward to Rome, and finally to Marseilles, where he established cloisters for both sexes. He regarded the cloister as a school of piety, and the discipline of religion as comprising the crucifixion of the flesh and the practice of piety. To this he added the study of the Scriptures, upon which he laid great stress. He taught that Biblical interpretation is of two kinds: the historical and the spiritual, the latter including the tropological, allegorical, and anagogical. The tropological seeks the moral in the Scriptures, the allegorical the religious meaning, the anagogical the supernatural and heavenly. For the instruction of his monks Cassian wrote *De institutis cœnobiorum*, on the life of the cloister, and *Collationes*, his 'conferences with the Egyptian Fathers.' The so-

[1] *Vide* Newman, *Historical Sketches*, i. p. 189, citing *Vit. M.*, c. vii. 10.

called *Rule of Cassian*, a condensation of the first four books of his *Institutes*, became the norm of monastic life in the West until the time of Benedict. Cassian laid great emphasis upon the necessity of work, and combined the service of the active and contemplative types of piety. Gennadius says: 'He wrote from experience, and in forcible language, or, to speak more clearly, with meaning back of his words, and action back of his talk.' [1] He also wrote *De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium* at the request of Leo of Rome.

10. *The monastery of Lérins was established by Honoratus at the beginning of the fifth century, and soon became a centre of theological culture. It was at once a Biblical school and a dogmatic school. Hilary of Arles, Vincent, Eucherius, Faustus, and Gennadius were among the chief representatives of this school, which in theology was essentially conservative.*

Honoratus († 429) founded a monastery on the island of Lérins, *c.* 400. After ruling there as abbot for more than a quarter of a century, he was called to the see of Arles. Lérins soon became the most famous monastery of France, the centre of theological culture. This development was due especially to Vincent and Faustus. Eucherius writes to Salonius, his son:

'Thou didst go in thy tenth year to the wilderness of Lérins, and there wert taught and trained by Honoratus. There the learned Hilarius instructed thee, then novice in the cloister, now *summus episcopus*, in all departments of spiritual knowledge; and finally the work of thine education was completed by the holy men Salvian and Vincent, who in eloquence and knowledge stand equally high.' [2]

Hilary, 'the learned' († 449), was related to Honoratus, and came under his influence in early youth. Trained in

[1] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 62.
[2] Kaufmann, *Rhetorenschulen und Klosterschulen*, in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1869, iv. p. 69.

the cloister of Lérins, he was chosen by Honoratus as his own successor in the episcopal chair. For twenty years Hilary ruled in Arles; but he always remained in connection with Lérins, and so great was his love for the monastic life that he introduced a modified form of it among his clergy, following Augustine's example. He was noted both as teacher and preacher, and was celebrated more especially for learning, zeal, and a certain 'fiery eloquence.' Gennadius mentions his learning in the Holy Scriptures, and says that he 'published some few things, brief, but showing immortal genius, and indicating an erudite mind as well as capacity for vigorous speech; among these that work which is of so great practical value to many, his *Life of Saint Honoratus*.'[1] At the time of his death Hilary was but forty-six years of age; yet he had long been a leader among the bishops of Gaul, and had summoned several synods, and in the exercise of metropolitan rights had stood forth as the representative of the Gallican Church in a jurisdictional conflict with Rome.

Eucherius came to Lérins about the year 422, was made bishop of Lyons in 434, and died there less than twenty years later. His writings are chiefly concerned with the Scriptures and the monastic life. In his *Formulæ spiritalis intellegentiæ* he made an important division of the *mystical* sense of Scripture into (1) the *allegorical*, what is to be believed in now; (2) the *anagogical*, what is predicted. This distinction persists throughout the Middle Ages.[2] In his epistle *On Contempt for the World and Worldly Philosophy*, 'written in a style which shows sound learning and reasoning,'[3] he urges the importance of Biblical study.

Vincent († 450) was one of the most famous scholars

[1] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 70.
[2] Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 449.
[3] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 64.

of Lérins, 'a man learned in the Holy Scriptures and very well informed in matters of ecclesiastical doctrine.'[1] His *Commonitorium*, written in 434, has been one of the most influential of books in the promotion of genuine Catholicism. It contains the famous saying:

'Magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc est etenim vere proprieque catholicum.'

Faustus († *c.* 490) was abbot of Lérins for a quarter of a century, and then became bishop of Riez. He was a Semi-Pelagian, and his chief work is *De gratia Dei*. Gennadius describes him as 'a man studious of the Divine Scriptures,' an 'excellent doctor, enthusiastically believed in and admired.'[2] Sidonius writes to him: 'The wisdom of this world and its philosophy you have appropriated for the service of the Church, and you fight the foes of the Gospel with their own weapons.'[3]

Gennadius († after 495) was another writer of the same type. He was a presbyter of Marseilles and the author of two important works: a continuation of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*; and a confession of faith, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, which was sent to Pope Gelasius.[4]

The school of Lérins trained many of the best theologians of France, and an extraordinary number of archbishops, bishops, and abbots. It probably gave birth to the so-called Athanasian Creed.[5] The tendency of the school in the Pelagian controversy was towards Semi-Pelagianism.

11. *The monastic system of Cassian made its way to Great Britain: to Ireland through St. Patrick, to Wales through St. Iltud, to Scotland through St. Ninian. Their*

[1] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 65. [2] Gennadius, *ibid.*, 86.
[3] *Vide* Kaufmann, *Historisches Taschenbuch*, iv. p. 33.
[4] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 99.
[5] *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 100 *seq.*; *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 268 *seq.*

monasteries all became schools of theological learning, which later flowed back into Gaul and penetrated into Switzerland and even into Italy.

The monastic system of Cassian spread into Great Britain, and especially to Ireland, where culture found a refuge when Gaul and England were in the midst of their struggles with heathen invaders.

St. Patrick († *c.* 463) studied at one or more of the monasteries of Gaul, possibly with St. Martin at Tours. Little is known of his life apart from legend ; except that he was made a bishop, and went on a mission to Ireland, where he is said to have made many converts, ordained many clergy, and founded many monasteries.

St. Ninian also was influenced by Martin of Tours. He is described by Bede as ' a most reverent and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth.' He was the first monastic bishop of Scotland. Tradition ascribes to him the founding of a school for his clergy at Whitherne, Galloway, which a century later was still attracting scholars in large numbers from a distance.

Finian, son of an Irish chieftain, went for training in theology first to Tours and then to Wales. Returning to Ireland he established many churches and monastic schools. The one founded at Clonard is said to have had at one time three thousand scholars. It consisted of a group of cells surrounding a church in the fashion that prevailed in Syria and Egypt, and became a model for the monasteries of Ireland. Finian is called ' the tutor of Erin's saints,' and he and his principal followers ' the twelve apostles of Ireland.'

Columba (*c.* 521-597) was also an Irishman of royal descent. He studied with both Finian of Movill and Finian of Clonard, was made a priest, and finally became a monastic bishop. He founded several great monasteries, among them Iona. Bede states that many such

institutions 'had their beginning through his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland; but the island monastery . . . has the pre-eminence among them all.'[1] 'Thither, as from a nest, these sacred doves (*columbæ*) took their flight to every quarter.'[2] 'From this island and the fraternity of these monks Aidan was sent to instruct the English nation in Christ. . . . All those who bore him company, whether they were tonsured or laymen, had to study either reading the Scriptures, or learning psalms.'[3]

Iltud (Illtyd), a Welsh saint, of the latter part of the fifth century, was a great-nephew of Germanus of Auxerre. He established a monastery and school in Wales, at Llanilltyd Fawr, Glamorgan, which continued in existence until the twelfth century. Iltud is called 'the teacher of the Britons.'[4] His most famous pupil, Gildas of Bath (573), became the first British historian.

Columban (543-616) was born at Leinster, and finished his education at the famous monastery of Bangor, on the east coast of Ulster. About the year 585 he went with twelve companions to Gaul, and founded several monasteries in the Vosges. The one at Luxeuil became the most celebrated in Gaul. Columban gave his monasteries a rule, which was a revision of that of Cassian and approximated that of Benedict. But he emphasised teaching in the schools, in accordance with the practice of the Irish monasteries. He also prescribed the copying of manuscripts. His foundations were characterised by zeal for learning, above all for the Scriptures. From them went forth a large proportion of the clergy of Gaul. About the year 610 Columban was driven out of Burgundy by the hostility of its queen. In the course of his wanderings he came to Switzerland,

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 4.
[2] Odonellus, *vide* Drane, *Christian Schools*, p. 51.
[3] Bede, iii. 5.
[4] Sandys, i. p. 446.

and settled for three years at Bregenz. From there he went to Italy, leaving behind him, on Lake Constance, Gallus and several other followers. He was made welcome by the king of the Lombards, and established a monastery at Bobbio, which became a great centre of theological education. A remembrance of his long journeys is preserved in one of his sermons in which he exclaims :

'O miserable human life ! . . . We must traverse thee, without dwelling in thee. No one dwells upon a great road ; we but march over it to reach the land beyond.' [1]

Columbanus was acquainted with both Greek and Hebrew.

'The knowledge of Greek, which had almost vanished in the West, was so widely diffused in the schools of Ireland, that, if any one knew Greek, it was assumed that he must have come from that country.' [2]

Bede tells of how Englishmen of all ranks flocked to Ireland 'for the sake of divine studies,' and went about 'from one master's cell to another. The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching *gratis*.' [3] The traditions of these Irish schools were cherished by Gallus and the other followers of Columban, whom he left on Lake Constance. They founded the monastery of St. Gall (*c.* 614), which became the great centre of theological study for Switzerland.

12. *The Augustinians of Gaul were also instructed in the cloister schools, but became unfriendly to them because of their Semi-Pelagianism, and so devoted their own attention to the building up of episcopal schools. The leaders among them were Prosper of Aquitaine and Cæsarius of Arles.*

[1] *Vide* Schaff, *Hist. Christ. Ch.*, iv. p. 88.
[2] Sandys, i. p. 451 ; but see 'Esposito' in *Studies*, i. (1912) pp. 665 ff.
[3] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 27.

Prosper of Aquitaine (*c.* 390-460) was educated at Arles, but early came under the influence of Augustine, and was the chief opponent of Semi-Pelagianism during his lifetime. His writings are for the most part in defence of Augustinianism, or in attack upon Semi-Pelagianism; but they include a chronicle based upon Eusebius and Jerome, continuing the narrative to the year 455. The first section was written from the point of view of Gaul, the second and third sections from that of Rome, where Prosper spent some years. Gennadius calls him 'a man scholastic in style and vigorous in statement.' [1]

Cæsarius (*c.* 470-542) studied at Lérins, but left there in 498, and became for the rest of his life a zealous Augustinian. In 502 he was made bishop of Arles, and so remained for forty years. Bardenhewer regards him as 'perhaps the greatest popular preacher of the ancient Latin Church.' [2] His writings were chiefly sermons, and he prepared homiliaries, including a collection of expository sermons. But he was also extremely influential in the departments of church government and monastic training. In less than ten years he held five important synods. The Synod of Orange, of 529, at which he presided, settled the conflict over Semi-Pelagianism, as its decision was approved by the pope and became symbolical. The synod decided for the Augustinian doctrine of grace, but not for the Augustinian doctrine of predestination; and in its decree defined a mild Augustinianism, which was commonly held in the Church until the Reformation.[3] The Synod of Vaison, convened in the same year, took important action in its decision that every presbyter presiding in a parish should take into his house young unmarried lectors, in accordance with

[1] Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 85.
[2] Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 611.
[3] *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 127 *seq.*

the custom that prevailed in Italy, and as a good father should instruct them in spiritual things. They should be made to sing psalms, diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and receive instruction in the law of the Lord.[1] In this provision for the training of the younger members of the clergy by the higher may be seen the influences brought to bear upon Cæsarius and his fellow-bishops in Gaul at this period. The schools of grammar and rhetoric, under the influence of Christian teachers, gradually became Christian schools. In the grammar schools religious instruction was added to reading, writing and arithmetic ; and in the rhetorical schools the study of the Scriptures was added to the study of classic authors. In the second quarter of the fifth century a rhetorical teacher at Marseilles, *Claudius Marius Victor*, composed a commentary on Genesis in hexameters for the instruction of the young. Cæsarius was recommended to study rhetoric with the well-known teacher *Pomerius of Lyons*, and to his influence is attributed by some the conversion of Cæsarius to Augustinianism. Pomerius used the catechetical form of instruction in a dialogue on the nature of the soul. Eucherius applied the same method to the explanation of various passages of Scripture. The methods of the grammar and rhetorical schools were appropriated by the monasteries. The monastic training was in its very nature a training in religion, and that not only in religious life but in knowledge.

Cæsarius, who had enjoyed that training at Lérins, drew up rules for monasteries of both sexes, which were widely influential, and constitute an important part of his service on behalf of religious education. Kaufmann regards them as of great importance for the development of cloister schools. ' From the time that they were published, cloisters multiplied rapidly.' He remarks that the cloister was referred to at that time as a *schola*,

[1] *Vide* Kaufmann, in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, iv. p. 70.

and the monks as *discipuli*.[1] As to the still stronger influence from Italy felt at the Synod of Vaison, it will be considered in the following section.

It is evident, as Kaufmann shows,[2] that great importance was attached to the personal influence of the bishop or presbyter over his assistant clergy. Familiar and constant intercourse with a man of piety and learning, training under his personal direction, was deemed the most desirable method of education for the clergy. Thus the bishops in Gaul as elsewhere were eventually required to give instruction themselves to the members of the minor orders, especially to the lectors, and at first in their own houses.

13. *The Pope's school at Rome devoted its chief attention to training the clergy in the creed, the liturgy and the canon law. The study of letters and philosophy also continued, though to a limited extent as compared with ancient times. The great pope of the fifth century was Leo I., whose influence upon the Church throughout the world exceeded that of any of his predecessors.*

There was at Rome a regular succession of popes of various grades of ability, and other ecclesiastical leaders who had been trained in the Roman schools, many of the ablest among them in the higher schools of philosophy and law as well. These gave special attention to the administration of the Church; and under them there was a gradual but steady development in church law and liturgy. The popes, moreover, regarded themselves as the conservators of orthodoxy, and in this interest carried on a large correspondence with the churches throughout the world, especially with the patriarchal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople.

[1] Kaufmann, *Historisches Taschenbuch*, iv. pp. 62 *seq.*
[2] Kaufmann, *ibid.*, p. 71.

Pope Siricius (385) made rules with regard to clerical advancement, which were further developed by *Zosimus* (418). The latter pope required five years of service for the four lowest orders, four years for the sub-diaconate, and five for the diaconate; thus fourteen years of service in the six lower orders before the candidate could become a priest. The service of the lower orders was more important than it appears to be on the surface. The doorkeeper was more like the doorkeeper of a masonic lodge than a modern sexton. He must have a personal acquaintance with all those admitted to the Christian assembly. Life or death often depended upon this knowledge. He must know those who were to retire before the canon of the mass. He must exercise caution and discrimination, and must be kind and cordial. He must have some of the pastoral gifts. The exorcist, whose work it was to exorcise demons, had to be a man possessed of piety and of the Divine Spirit, and with some knowledge of human character and of pastoral medicine. The reader must have had some rhetorical training in order to read the lessons from Holy Scripture and the prayers of the liturgy, and also some knowledge of the Scriptures and the prayers which he read before the congregation. The acolytes assisted in the minor parts of the Holy Communion, and were usually choristers as well. The sub-deacon assisted in the Eucharist, and in the care of the poor and the sick. He must have pastoral training. The deacon was especially charged with the pastoral care. One can easily see that fourteen years of such preparatory service was an excellent education for the practical work of the higher ministry and of the priesthood, except so far as the prophetic functions are concerned; and even in this regard the long regular participation in the minor services of religion, as a reader and a hearer of sermons, prepared the candidate for that work also when the time for it came.

The greatest pope of the fifth century was *Leo I.* (440-461). He was a theologian as well as an ecclesiastic, and composed a dogmatic formula, called *Leo's Tome*, which was adopted at the Council of Chalcedon (451).[1] This was a triumph of Roman doctrine. But in other respects that council displeased the pope; as it exalted the see of Constantinople, or new Rome, to a place second in importance to that of old Rome, with an authority in the East similar to that which Rome had long exercised in the West. Against this action Rome has always protested.

The popes adhered to the Augustinian doctrine of sin and grace, but in a practical rather than a dogmatic way. They sustained the Augustinians in their conflict with the Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians; but would never enforce what is known as higher or strict Augustinianism, in its doctrine of absolute predestination, or in other refinements and logical deductions from Augustine's doctrine. Boniface II. approved the decrees of the Council of Orange (529), and these became the dogma of the Roman Church.[2]

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 295 *seq.*
[2] *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 127 *seq.*

CHAPTER VII

WESTERN SCHOOLS OF THE SIXTH, SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

1. *The sixth century witnessed a revival of education in the West contemporary with its decline in the East.*

The year 529 was distinguished by several most important events: (1) in the West, the Synod of Orange decided finally for the Western Church the Semi-Pelagian controversy, and how far Augustinianism was to be the official doctrine of the Church. (2) In the East, the school of Athens was finally closed by the order of Justinian. (3) Justinian's code of civil law was published at Constantinople, to be followed in 533 by the *Digest* and the *Institutes*, summing up the legal learning of the Roman Empire and reducing it to systematic form as the Roman Civil Law. (4) The Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino was founded in Southern Italy.

These are all epoch-making events in Church history, marking the final period of the Ancient Church.

2. *At the beginning of the sixth century Rome produced Boëthius, one of the most important of the scholars of the world, a man mediating between the ancient classic culture and Christianity better than any one else.*

Boëthius (480-524) was of illustrious Roman stock, 'the head of the noble Anician house, which had been famous for six centuries.'[1] He had the highest culture

[1] Sandys, i. p. 251.

of the age, both in literature, philosophy, and law; and was as familiar with Greek as with Latin. He undertook the important task of translating Plato and Aristotle into Latin, and expounding them to the Latin world. He held to their substantial agreement, and therefore emphasised their agreement rather than their difference. To quote his cotemporary Cassiodorus:

'Through him Pythagoras the musician, Ptolemy the astronomer, Nicomachus the arithmetician, Euclid the geometer, Plato the theologian, Aristotle the logician, Archimedes the mechanician, had learned to speak the Roman language.'[1]

As Sandys says: 'He was the last of the learned Romans who understood the language and studied the literature of Greece; and he was the first to interpret to the Middle Ages the logical treatises of Aristotle.'[2]

The most famous work of Boëthius is *De philosophiæ consolatione*, which vied with Augustine's *Confessions* as a devotional book in the Middle Ages. It was written in the tower of Pavia, where Boëthius had been confined on a false charge of treason. He had rendered notable service to the state, both as consul and as *magister officiorum*, but that did not save him from a traitor's death. Dante voices the judgment of the Mediæval Church when he places Boëthius with Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard and other great theologians in the heaven of the sun, and describes him as a saint come 'from martyrdom and exile to this peace,' and prepared to prove to all who will listen the deceitfulness of this world.[3] Gibbon calls the *Consolation* 'a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author.'[4] One thousand years later Sir Thomas More, similarly placed in the

[1] Cassiodorus, *Variæ*, i. 45.
[2] Sandys, i. p. 253.
[3] Dante, *Paradiso*, x. 124-129.
[4] Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, iv. p. 201.

Tower of London, turned for comfort to the *Consolation* of Boëthius.

3. *Benedict founded a monastery at Monte Cassino, in* 529, *the first of the great Benedictine monasteries, which speedily spread over the West, and became the nurseries of education and culture.*

Benedict (c. 480-543) was born at Nursia, and was sent for education to Rome. But at an early age he undertook the monastic life. He gathered about him many disciples, among whom the most distinguished was the young Roman noble, known as St. Maur, who subsequently carried the order into France. Benedict and his followers at first established themselves at Subiaco, not far from Rome ; and later, in 529, at Monte Cassino, fifty miles to the south, between Rome and Naples. Benedict drew up rules of discipline, which have been used by his order ever since, and are the basis of the rules of all later orders. The three chief Benedictine virtues are silent reflection, humility, and obedience ; the three activities are worship, manual labour, and *lectio divina*. Even at meals there was a lector to read aloud to those who were eating. On the basis of this reading grew up the monastic schools of the Benedictines ; for it involved the gathering of books, the copying of books, and the arrangement of books in libraries, as well as their use in reading and study. Scholarship naturally and ever bases itself upon libraries, and cannot live without books.

4. *Junilius Africanus, who had been trained in grammar, rhetoric and law in Rome, and was a high public official, strove to promote the study of theology by introducing the principles and methods of the school of Nisibis into the West.*

Junilius († 550), an African by birth, trained in the West in law as well as in grammar and rhetoric, became *quæstor sacri palatii* at Constantinople. Here he came

under the influence of Paul of Nisibis (*c.* 543-545). He translated the latter's work on Biblical study into Latin under the title *Instituta regularia divinæ legis* ; only he put it into a catechetical form, in two books. Through this work the influence of the Syrian schools passed over into the West. It held its own as an authority in the Western Church until the Reformation. In this dialogue the disciple asks :

'What are those things which we ought to guard in the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures ? '

The master replies :

'That those things which are said may agree with Him who says them ; that they should not be discrepant with the reasons for which they were said ; that they should accord with their times, places, order, and intention.' [1]

5. *Cassiodorus founded monasteries of the Cassian rule with libraries, and prepared several works for the instruction of the monks and neophytes. He proposed the founding of a theological school at Rome after the model of the school of Nisibis. His influence extended deep down into the Middle Ages.*

It is doubtful whether the Benedictines would have done so much for the cause of theological scholarship if it had not been for a scholar named Cassiodorus, who had evidently been stimulated by a study of Junilius' work.

Cassiodorus (*c.* 485-575), a noble senator of Rome, was born in southern Italy. He was thoroughly trained in literature, philosophy and law, and served the state in several high offices. As *quaestor* he had to 'speak the king's words in the king's own presence,' to 'learn (his) inmost thoughts' and 'utter them to his subjects.' As *magister officiorum* he was at one time prime minister in all save the name. He published his official letters

[1] *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 452 ; Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, p. 526.

under the title of *Variæ* ; also a Chronicle, and a History of the Goths. Late in life he founded two monasteries under the Cassian rule, both in Calabria, on the bay of Squillace. To one of these he retired (*c.* 540), and here he prepared various works for the instruction of his monks in several different departments of theology. These writings include : (1) Commentaries on the Psalms and the Epistles ; (2) a *Historia tripartita*, combining in a Latin version the narratives of the three Greek historians, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, and used as a text-book in Church history for centuries ; (3) a work on orthography and other less important writings ; (4) above all, *Institutiones divinarum et humanarum lectionum*, which urge the study of the Scriptures in the first part, of the classics in the second. The first book insists upon the study of the Scriptures by all, and is a guide to their study. It recommends the works of the Fathers, mentions the best commentaries on the Bible, and gives an account of the canon. The second book urges the study of the classics, but only by those monks who have the proper taste and qualifications ; the others must engage instead in manual labour—an excellent resolution. This part gives a summary statement as to the seven liberal arts. One-half of this part is devoted to logic or dialectic (as it is called) ; this includes an abstract of the *Organon* of Aristotle, and a chapter on logical fallacies. Rhetoric also is quite fully treated. In the preface to this work Cassiodorus tells how he came to write it. He was troubled that, while there were many to give instruction in secular learning, the Holy Writings lacked teachers. He therefore proposed to Pope Agapetus the founding of a theological school in Rome on the model of those of Alexandria and Nisibis. Agapetus went so far as to select a house on the Cœlian hill, and to build a library there. But the plan could not be carried out because of the invasion of Italy by

Belisarius. Cassiodorus therefore determined to supply 'in place of instructors books of instruction, in which might be collected, out of both sacred and secular learning, that which is most essential.' [1] He also built up a great library for his monks, collecting manuscripts from all parts and providing for their transcription. 'By copying the divine precepts,' he said, one 'spreads them far and wide, enjoying the glorious privilege of silently preaching salvation to mortals by means of the hand alone, and thus foiling with pen and ink the temptations of the devil. Every word of the Lord written by the copyist is a wound inflicted on Satan.' [2] Sandys says:

'It is generally agreed that the civilisation of subsequent centuries, and, in particular, the institution of monastic libraries and monastic schools, where the light of learning continued to shine in the "Dark Ages," owed much to the prescience of Cassiodorus.' [3]

6. *The monastic schools of the Benedictines received a great stimulus from Pope Gregory I., whose influence was most potent during the entire Middle Ages. Ranking with Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, he makes the fourth, and in some respects the greatest, of the Fathers of the Western Church.*

Gregory (*c.* 540-604) was born a Roman, of high family, and was thoroughly trained in the grammar and rhetorical schools, and 'as a saint in the midst of saints.' He also studied law, and became a government official, and at the age of about thirty *praetor* of Rome. After the death of his father he retired from the world, and used his great wealth in the establishment of seven monasteries of the Benedictine order, six in Sicily, and one in his own palace in Rome, on Monte Cœlio. This is the very place where Pope Agapetus laid the foundation for a theological school. But Gregory's ability,

[1] *Vide* Migne, *P. L.*, lxx. 1105 *seq.*
[2] Cassiodorus, *Institutes*, i. 30.
[3] Sandys, i. pp. 266 *seq.*

more especially as a man of affairs, could not remain hidden in a monastery. In 577 he was made a cardinal deacon, and two years later papal nuncio at Constantinople. About 585 he returned to Rome, and became abbot of his cloister. Attracted by Anglo-Saxon boys in the slave market, he resolved to go on a mission to England. He had already started on his journey, and was three days from Rome, when he was recalled by the pope. Soon afterwards (590) Pelagius II. died, and Gregory was chosen pope by acclamation. Six years later he sent to England the abbot Augustine with a company of monks of the Benedictine order, forty in all, to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. As Augustine found 'a great harvest and but few labourers,' Gregory sent to him 'ministers of the word,' and 'all things that were necessary for the worship and service of the Church . . . besides many books.' [1] Bretholz remarks that in Gregory's time 'the papal collection of books was not insignificant,' and was drawn upon as a source of supply.[2] Gregory was less a scholar than a man of affairs; yet he greatly raised the scholarship of the Church of his time. John the Deacon asserts that he surrounded himself with learned clerics and pious monks; and that in his palace 'the study of all the liberal arts once more flourished.' Wisdom built there a temple, 'supporting the porticoes of the apostolic see by the seven liberal arts.' [3] Gregory of Tours likewise describes him as 'a patron of learning.' [4] Theiner says that his palace was a 'great seminary,' where youths in training for the ministry, and men grown old in the work of the Church, lived in community, and were schooled for service. Gregory was 'the creative spirit of that great ecclesiastical institution,' from which went forth

[1] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 29.
[2] Bretholz, 'Lateinische Paläographie,' in *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, i. (ed. 1) p. 52.
[3] Drane, *Christian Schools*, p. 58.
[4] *Vide* Schaff, iv. p. 604.

men of the greatest influence, who sought to introduce everywhere similar institutions.[1] Gregory also established, or rather re-established, a choir-school, which became the model for such schools in all Western Europe. From the time of Ambrose in the West, and still earlier in the East, choir-schools had existed in connection with certain great churches. But from the time of Gregory such schools began to be attached to the cathedral churches, and select boys to be trained in them, not only in music, but also in grammar and rhetoric. Many of these boys went from the choir-school into the minor orders of the ministry. To such boys participation in the various services of the Church became second nature: it was their life and dominant experience. Gregory's work on behalf of public worship included a revision of the liturgy, and the introduction of the *Cantus Gregorianus*, which has never passed out of use in the Church, and was revived by Pope Pius X.

Gregory's most important labour was on the practical side. He devoted much attention to pastoral care, and wrote *Dialogi* in four books, an important work relating to the life and miracles of Italian Fathers (a collection of legends), and *Regula pastoralis sive liber curæ pastoralis*, a very valuable treatise, which still remains a classic text-book for Pastoral Theology. Gregory also wrote homilies on the Gospels and on Ezekiel, and a commentary on Job, in which he seeks first the literal sense, then the typical, and finally and chiefly the moral sense, so that the book is principally a work on Christian morals. Gregory was a great preacher, and his correspondence was enormous, no less than eight hundred and fifty genuine letters having been preserved. These are of very great value for the light they throw upon contemporary history, as well as upon the mind of this great pope on all manner of subjects,

[1] Theiner, *Gesch. d. geistl. Bildungsanstalten*, p. 22.

especially those relating to ecclesiastical administration and the Christian life. Gregory's influence upon the Latin Church was greater than that of any other pope all through the Middle Ages down to the Reformation.

7. *The study of theology in the latter half of the sixth and throughout the seventh century was pursued in the episcopal schools for the secular clergy, and in monastic schools for both seculars and regulars.*

The monastic schools at this period were of either the Cassian or the Benedictine rule. Gradually, however, the older Cassian rule was displaced by the Benedictine over the greater part of the West.

Gregory of Tours (538-594) was trained in the episcopal school of his uncle, Gallus, bishop of Clermont, and his successor Avitus. At the age of thirty-five Gregory was chosen bishop of Tours, which was at that time 'the religious centre of Gaul.' [1] His great work is his *Historia Francorum*, in ten books, by which he became the father of history for France. He also wrote lives of the Fathers, and of saints and martyrs, and a commentary on the Psalms, of which fragments only are extant.

Venantius Fortunatus (*c.* 530-600) was born at Treviso, and educated at Ravenna. He united with a passion for poetry a love of travel, which kept him a wanderer for many years. Visiting Tours on a pilgrimage to St. Martin's tomb, he came under the influence of Bishop Euphronius. At Poitiers he was made priest, and in 599 the bishop. He is said to have known most of the influential persons in Gaul, and was the friend of Gregory of Tours. He became famous as a Christian poet, and some of his hymns are still used in the liturgy of the Church.

8. *Isidore of Seville was thoroughly trained in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and in classic and Christian literature,*

[1] Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, iv. p. 659.

and was the most learned man of his day, the father of encyclopædia for the Middle Ages.

Little is known of education in Spain during the so-called 'Dark Age,' yet it is dark to us just because of our ignorance of it. Probably education was obtainable in Spain, as in Gaul, in public schools of grammar and rhetoric, and in episcopal and monastic schools of the older type. Indeed, some of the clearest traces of the existence of training schools for the clergy at this period are to be found in the canons of Spanish councils.[1] There must have been some educational facilities to account for the learning of such a man as Isidore of Seville.

Isidore (*c.* 560-636) was thoroughly trained in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, in the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, and in classic literature. He was one of three brothers, all bishops, and was brought up under the care of the eldest, Leander of Seville, himself a scholar and a friend of Gregory the Great. The second Council of Toledo (531) had provided for the instruction of boys destined for the ministry 'in the house of the Church under the eyes of the bishop, by him who shall be appointed over them.'[2] It is therefore probable that Isidore was trained in the bishop's school at Seville, and later, as he advanced through the minor orders, by Leander himself. Isidore succeeded his brother as archbishop, and during his episcopate of thirty-five years he did much to promote learning in Spain. The school of Seville under his rule attracted students from far and near. He presided at the fourth Council of Toledo (633), which required all bishops to establish similar cathedral schools, in which Latin, Greek and Hebrew should be likewise taught. Alcuin calls him *Isidorus lumen Hispaniæ*.[3]

[1] *Vide* Theiner, *Gesch. d. geistl. Bildungsanstalten*, p. 29.
[2] *Vide* Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 13.
[3] *Vide* Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 63.

By his writings he was to become a great light for the whole Western Church, in schools of all kinds, throughout the Middle Ages. He was a man of enormous learning for that age, a compiler and an encyclopædist. His greatest work is a kind of encyclopædia, in twenty books, entitled *Etymologiæ sive Origines* ; and yet it is the work, not of many men, but of one.

Books I.-III. discuss the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* ; Book IV., medicine ; V., law, and chronology ; VI., the Biblical writings and their authors, libraries, writing materials, and the feasts and offices of the Church ; VII., the Trinity, and the heavenly and earthly hierarchies ; VIII., the Church, sects and philosophical schools ; IX., languages, nations, government, and society ; X., etymologies ; XI., man ; XII., animals ; XIII., the world, heaven and the elements ; XIV., the earth and the different countries ; XV., the dwellings and buildings of men ; XVI., stones and metals ; XVII., agriculture ; XVIII., war, legal contests, amusements, etc. ; XIX., ships, architecture and clothing ; XX., food and drink, furniture and tools.

The work is really a collection rather than an encyclopædia in the modern sense, the material being arranged according to subject-matter and not alphabetically.

Only the most important of Isidore's numerous works can be noticed here. His *Libri sententiarum* is 'the first Latin compendium of faith and morals.' [1] 'Its influence has been incalculable.' [2] His general introduction to the Scriptures, *Proœmiorum liber*, his *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum*, and his *Scripture Allegories* are all compilations. Of special interest is his work *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, which is in the main original, and treats in the first part of 'the origin of the offices,' in the second of 'the origin of the ministry.' Polemics is represented by a work against the Jews, *De fide catholica*, which was translated into other languages and was widely read ; history by a Chronicle based on Julius Africanus,

[1] *Vide* 'Isidore' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*
[2] Schaff, iv. p. 666.

Eusebius, Jerome, and Victor of Tunnuna, a *History of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi*, and a continuation of the biographies of *Illustrious Men* by Jerome and Gennadius, which brings the record down to the beginning of the seventh century. The work entitled *Differentiarum* gives in its first book a 'dictionary of synonyms,' in the second a 'dictionary of theology.' *De natura rerum* is a work on natural philosophy; *De nominibus legis et evangeliorum liber* a valuable source for the literature and art of the early Middle Ages. Finally Isidore's monastic rule, derived from ancient sources, is important for the history of monasticism in Spain.

9. *The Benedictine rule and its methods of education were carried to England by Augustine in* 597. *One of his successors, Theodore of Tarsus, founded a school and library at Canterbury, which served as a model for many others. These Benedictine schools produced many great teachers, the most distinguished of whom was the Venerable Bede, the greatest scholar of his age.*

Augustine († 605) arrived in Kent with his monks in the year 597, and became, by appointment of Gregory the Great, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England. Before his death he had established Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.

Among his successors in the see of Canterbury was *Theodore* (668-690), a learned Greek from Tarsus, who founded a great school and library at Canterbury, and established monastic schools in other important centres, where the study of Greek as well as Latin was promoted. 'The English churches gained more spiritual increase while he was archbishop than ever before.'[1] He was 'well instructed in secular and divine literature, as also in Greek and Latin,' and had as his assistant the Abbot *Hadrian*, an African by race, 'well versed in Holy Writ,

[1] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 8.

experienced in monastic and ecclesiastical discipline, and excellently skilled in both the Greek and the Latin tongues.' He had been the pope's choice for the see, and was allowed to give place to Theodore only on condition that he took upon himself the charge of seeing that Theodore did not, 'according to the custom of the Greeks, introduce anything contrary to the true faith into the Church where he presided.' [1] The two seem to have worked in perfect harmony, and Bede thus describes their ministry:

Theodore 'was gladly received and heard by all persons, and everywhere attended and assisted by Hadrian, he taught the right rule of life. . . . And forasmuch as both of them were . . . fully instructed in both sacred and secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and rivers of wholesome knowledge flowed from them daily to water the hearts of their hearers; and, together with the books of Holy Scripture, they also taught them the metrical art, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic. So that there are still living at this day some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own wherein they were born.' [2]

The most notable of the pupils of Canterbury was *Aldhelm* († 709), who had previously been trained in the Irish foundation at Malmesbury, and therefore represented both schools. He made 'such rapid strides in learning, that ere long he was thought a better scholar than either his Greek or Latin teachers. . . . He had mastered all the idioms of the Greek language, and wrote and spoke it as though he were a Greek by birth.' [3] While a student at Canterbury he wrote to his bishop:

'The truth is that there is a necessity for spending a great deal of time in this seat of learning, especially if one be inflamed with the love of study, and desirous, as I am, of becoming acquainted with all the secrets of the Roman jurisprudence.' Of the science of numbers as taught there he writes: 'For my own part all the

[1] Bede, iv. 1. [2] Bede, iv. 2.
[3] Sandys, p. 466, cited from Migne, lxxxix. 66, 85.

labours of my former studies are trifling in comparison with this. So that I may say with Jerome on a like occasion, "before I entered on that study, I thought myself a master, but now I find I was but a learner." '[1]

Returning to Malmesbury Aldhelm taught there, and students came to him from distant parts.

'Some admired the sanctity of the man, and others the depth of his learning. He was as simple in piety as he was multifarious in knowledge, having imbibed the seven liberal arts so perfectly that he was wonderful in each, and unrivalled in all.'

Bede refers to his 'marvellous learning both in liberal and ecclesiastical studies,' and to the 'notable' books written by him.[2] As a poet also he was famous, and has been called 'the father of Anglo-Latin verse.'[3]

Another famous teacher of that period was *Benedict Biscop* (*c.* 628-689), a great traveller, who became a monk at Lérins, and in the course of his journeys on the continent visited seventeen monasteries. He came to Canterbury in the train of Theodore, and both studied and taught in the archbishop's school. He visited Rome six times, and procured many manuscripts, with which he enriched the library of Canterbury, and also two monasteries of his own foundation, the one at Wearmouth (674), the other at Jarrow (681). These institutions he endowed with all that art as well as learning had contributed to enrich the monastic life. It is remarkable how in England also, at this early period, scholars of different race and language gathered in the same school. Theodore the Greek from Tarsus in Cilicia, and Hadrian the African from Rome, worked together in Canterbury, England, for the advancement of learning, assisted by Biscop, a native scholar, who had gleaned in most of the great continental schools. Biscop did much to spread in England the traditions of Rome, and through his

[1] *Vide* Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 68.
[2] Bede, v. 18.
[3] Sandys, i. p. 467.

monasteries Roman music and the Roman liturgy became widely known in that land.

To the care of Benedict Biscop the youthful *Bede* (673-*c.* 735) was entrusted, and in his monasteries Bede's whole life was passed. When Biscop died, Ceolfrid, whom he had made abbot of Jarrow, replaced him in the guardianship of one who was destined to become the greatest scholar of his time. Bede is 'a witness to the excellence of Benedict's collection of books, for though he says: "I spent my whole life in the dwelling of my monastery,"' yet, as Poole remarks:

'He shows an extent of knowledge in classical literature and natural science entirely unrivalled in his own day and probably not surpassed for many generations to come. Yet, be it remembered, it was first and foremost as a theologian and interpreter of the Scriptures that the Middle Ages revered him; and it is as an historian and the father of English historians that we now see his greatest distinction. Nor can the student of his works fail to recognise that Bede, like Ealdhelm, combined the current which flowed eastward from Ireland with that which came with Benedict from Canterbury. His genial and versatile learning is no less characteristic than the loyalty in which he held fast to the strict tradition of the Catholic Church.'[1]

Bede's writings include an invaluable *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Lives of the Abbots of Jarrow, a Book of Hymns in various metres, a Book of Epigrams, treatises *De natura rerum*, *De tempore ratione*, text-books on orthography and other subjects, sermons, letters, translations, and commentaries upon a great part of the Bible. He knew something of Greek, and probably of Hebrew also. The Monk of St. Gall calls him 'the greatest commentator on the Scriptures since St. Gregory.'[2] He was also an inspiring teacher, and students came to him from all parts. They were impressed not only with his learning, but with the ardour

[1] Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, p. 20.
[2] *Vide* Thatcher and M'Neal, *Source Book for Mediæval History*, pp. 51 *seq.*

with which he turned from work to worship, and combined study with prayer. His last hours were spent in an effort to finish a translation of the Gospel of John.

10. *Boniface, the apostle of Germany, went forth from the Benedictine schools of England, and carried their methods of education into Germany. His chief follower, Sturmi, established the monastery of Fulda, which became a great centre of learning for centuries.*

Winfrid, or *Boniface* as he is called (*c.* 675-755), was born in Devonshire, and educated at the monasteries of Exeter and Nursling. He undertook a mission to the heathen in Thuringia, Friesland, Bavaria, and elsewhere, and became 'the apostle of Germany.' He was appointed by Gregory III. archbishop of Mainz (*c.* 745); but in less than ten years he resigned from his see, and took up once more his missionary labours. A year or two later he and his companions were massacred in Friesland by a heathen band.

Boniface was a man of practical ability rather than a scholar; but he called to his assistance men of learning, promoted the establishment of monastic schools, and provided for the training of the clergy. He worked in harmony with Chrodegang of Metz, whose *Regulæ canonicorum* became the norm for many of the bishoprics of Germany and France.

Several of the disciples of Boniface built up great theological schools. *Gregory of Utrecht* gave to his school a reputation that drew students from France and England as well as Germany. Under Bishop *Willibald*, Eichstädt acquired a rival school. Others might be named; but none attained the importance of the monastery founded by *Sturmi* at Fulda (744), which remained for centuries a great centre of theological learning. Three years after the founding of this institution Sturmi visited Monte Cassino to study the

workings of the Benedictine rule in the parent house. A number of monks were sent from Monte Cassino to Fulda, and doubtless carried with them those traditions of learning for which the Italian monastery was so famous. At the time of Sturmi's death (779) the number of monks at Fulda is said to have reached 400, exclusive of the students in training for the priesthood.[1]

11. *The Venerable Bede left a succession of notable scholars, culminating in Alcuin, who introduced the next period in the history of theological scholarship.*

One of the chief pupils of Bede was *Egbert* († 766), who became archbishop of York, and made the school of York a famous seat of learning. To Bede he was 'a devoted Samuel,' and in him 'the same learning and doctrine were conspicuous that had shone so brightly in his teachers . . . in St. Gregory, the apostle of the Angles; in Gregory's disciple, Augustine; in St. Benedict; and in Cuthbert and Theodorus, the followers of the first Father and Apostle of the Church in all things.'[2]

Albert, the chief teacher of Alcuin, assisted Egbert and became his successor both as archbishop and as head of the school. Alcuin describes Albert as 'teaching the catholic faith in the spirit of love,' and as 'observing the natural dispositions' of his pupils 'with wonderful skill.'[3] Both Egbert and Albert laid great stress upon the study of the Scriptures; and both laboured to build up a great library. In the time of Alcuin the library of York 'far surpassed any possessed by either England or France in the twelfth century, whether that of Christ Church, Canterbury, of St. Victor at Paris, or of Bec in Normandy. . . . Neither Alfred the Great, St. Dunstan,

[1] *Vide* Theiner, *Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten*, p. 36.
[2] Migne, *P. L.*, ci. 94; *vide* Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 54 *seq.*
[3] *Vide* Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, pp. 84 *seq.*

nor John of Salisbury, had access to libraries like those known to Bede and Alcuin.' [1]

Alcuin (735-804) was trained in the school of York under Egbert and Albert, and so under the influence of Bede. The Monk of St. Gall calls him Bede's pupil, and attributes his knowledge of the Scriptures to Bede. He assisted Albert in the school and the library, and accompanied him on his journeys in search of manuscripts. In 778 Albert resigned to him the charge of both school and library, commending to him the manuscripts as 'the dearest of all his treasures.' Several years later Alcuin, returning from a visit to Rome, met with Charlemagne and was persuaded by him to undertake the direction of education at his court. In 782 he was installed as master of the king's school, and, sustained by Charlemagne, he began what proved to be a great revival of learning on the continent.

[1] Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 60.

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